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MEMORIALS OF OLD WARWICKSHIRE

MEMORIALS OF THE COUNTIES OF ENGLAND

General Editor: REV. P. H. DITCHFIELD, M.A., F.S.A.

MEMORIALS OF OLD WARWICKSHIRE

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MEMORIALS

OF

OLD WARWICKSHIRE

EDITED BY

ALICE DRYDEN

EDITOR OF

Memorials of Old Northamptonshire

AND

Memorials of Old Wiltshire

WITH MANY ILLUSTRATIONS

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PREFACE

NO general introduction to another volume of the now well-known Memorials series is needed.

It is, however, necessary for me to explain that I have purposely omitted from this volume on Warwickshire chapters on what has become popularly known as "Shakespeare's Country"—the towns of Stratford-upon-Avon, Warwick, and Leamington, Kenilworth Castle, also Guy's Cliff—for there has been a multiplicity of books on these well-known places of late years. For the same reason I have omitted all notice of Shakespeare himself, and also of the history of Coventry town.

The Castles of Warwick and Kenilworth are noticed under "Castles," and subjects of great interest, but little known, concerning Warwick, Stratford-upon-Avon, and Coventry, are treated of.

Owing to illness, Mr. Shepard has been unable to write "The Recusants in Warwickshire," that was included in the original contents.

It only remains for me to record my most grateful thanks to the writers, and to all those who have so kindly taken or lent photographs and blocks for illustrations; also to Mr. Francis B. Andrews, who has specially drawn the plans of Warwick, Kenilworth, and Tamworth Castles for this book.

ALICE DRYDEN.

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HISTORIC WARWICKSHIRE

WARWICKSHIRE is a land of contrasts. Its story is the story of roads and woods, castles and great estates, of pastures, of mines, and of cities, as well as of the strange and unfathomable thoughts and impulses of men—and now this feature, now that, predominates in its history. Lying as it does in the heart of England, it has long been, and still is, a thoroughfare shire; for all who journey from London to the north-east of England, or from Bristol to the north-west, must needs touch upon some part of Warwickshire earth. Roads minister incalculably to civilization. What the sea has been to Kent and Devon, the Watling Street, the branches of the Holyhead road, and the railway lines have been to Warwickshire.

The county is even now a woodland one. Anciently the whole of the district north of Avon—the Arden—was forest; in Roman times a wedge of woods flanked by roads. This fact will in part account for the comparative scantiness of the traces therein of Roman civilization. Maybe also the prevalence of forest accounts for the wealth of legend within the shire, for old stories and beliefs survive longest where small communities live isolated lives, as they must needs do among woodlands.

Warwickshire was a part of Mercia—the "March" or border—the borderland between Welsh and English; later it lay on the border line between Danes and English, on the Watling Street. Its earthworks, whereof some date from prehistoric times, tell tales, unnoted in written pages, of operations offensive and defensive; and we probably owe the very name of the county, the grouping together

of the hundreds that could defend and be defended by the "burh" of Warwick, to the military necessities of the Danish invasion. In later times the water-defended fort of Kenilworth and that of rock-built Warwick have a vivid feudal and military story of their own, which merges, when the respective castles became royal property, into the dynastic and political history of England. Coventry also, as a walled town, played a noteworthy part in the Wars of the Roses and the Great Rebellion under Charles I.

But the commercial fame of Warwickshire towns dwarfs their military accomplishments. Coventry sprang into greatness with the woollen civilization of the fourteenth, and Birmingham with the coal and iron civilization of the eighteenth, century. The wealth above ground of its pastures, and below ground of its mines, combined with its accessibility, has tended, and still further tends, to urbanize—if the word be admissible—north and mid-Warwickshire. All this growth of cities has given to the people a touch of cosmopolitanism, whereto we may attribute that adaptability and commercial resourcefulness which gives them a present as well as a past. For cities attract strangers; new-comers bring new ideas; and history is the roar of the grinding together of the old and the new about the ocean of time.

But Warwickshire has not lived by trade alone. Here and there the quality of the climate relaxes the energy of the people; it is unusual to find a Midlander with the typical American's biting activity, or the typical Yorkshire-man's masterfulness. But where the nervous energy does not discharge itself in the practical sphere there is greater store of it in the region of thought and feeling. In poets, martyrs, fanatics, reformers, in those who have that supreme quality that they have set aside fear, this little nook of land has been abundantly rich. In literature there are two great names to instance—Shakespeare's and George Eliot's; in the religious life the Wycliffite and Marian martyrs, and the chief conspirator of the

Gunpowder Plot. The long string of agrarian and political reformers, which includes the Barford labourers of the other day, is perhaps more proper to the social than to the general history of the district.

The plough has helped to destroy remnants of prehistoric Warwickshire; while antiquarians have somewhat neglected the spade—hence evidence of early culture is scanty and dubious. Still, on a lofty hill in the sparsely-peopled district of Long Compton stands the one remaining specimen the county affords of megalithic remains—the Rollright Stones. Of these only one—the King Stone, a monolith 8 feet 6 inches high, and 3 feet 6 inches broad—is within the borders of the shire; the circle of stones, probably surrounding a tumulus now gone, and the five others standing apart from the circle and locally known as the "Whispering Knights," the probable remains of a cromlech, lie over the Oxfordshire border.

The ancient earthworks of the county are of many periods; indeed, many of them, loosely called British or Roman, belong to Danish or Norman times, to Stephen's era of unlicensed castle-building, or to the civil wars under John and Henry III. Of prehistoric camps of refuge—irregularly shaped, difficult of access, placed at a point of vantage on a hill top—Nadbury Camp on Edgehill furnishes the most striking example, though Berry Mound in Solihull and Burrow Camp on Corley Rock belong to a period before the dawn of history.[1]

A swamp served to protect the low-lying, oval-shaped village forts at Beausale and Claverdon; while the rectangular military camps of Mancetter and (probably) Chesterton are Roman in origin and served for purposes of offence. Of the moated mount type of fortress—dwelling of a chief, Saxon, Dane, or Norman—Brinklow is one of the finest examples in the country. The great mound at the

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[1] See Mr. Willoughby Gardner's article on "Ancient Defensive Earthworks," *Victoria County History of Warwickshire*, vol. i.

end of the pear-shaped earthworks can be seen for miles; it is 40 feet high and measures 50 feet across the top. Two adjacent courts lying at the mount's foot, defended by rampart and fosse, served for protection of underlings and cattle. The whole is in fair preservation, though unexcavated; some of the outlying earthworks, however, have disappeared, for the whole fort is said to have extended for twenty-five acres.

A very curious specimen of ancient fortifications formerly engirding an entire village is to be found at old-world, decaying Wapenbury, where the grassy roadway and primitive stepping-stones over the Leam give an added interest to the ramparted enclosure. Only a small portion of these earthworks has escaped the levelling process of cultivation; but sixty or seventy years ago, as Bloxam's map shows, the line of embankment was perfect.

Three Roman ways touch Warwickshire or cut through it—the Watling Street, the Fosse Way, and the Rycknield, Icknield or (locally) Buckle Street. There are numerous Strettons (street-towns) in Warwickshire; one called after the Baskervilles lies near Watling Street. As for the Fosse, it passes near Street Ashton, which partially veils itself in a tax roll of 1327, under the name of "Strothardiston," and Stretton-under-Fosse, through Stretton-on-Dunsmore, and leaves the county at Stretton-on-the-Fosse. There is also a Street-ford (Stratford) on a possible Roman way, useful for the conveyance of salt from Droitwich. The Watling Street running from London to Wroxeter borders the shire in a line that starts four miles S.E. of Rugby, and passing Caves Inn (probably Tripontium), High Cross (Venonæ), and Mancetter (Manduessedum)—all three places of Roman settlement, though scarcely of important character[1]—enters the

[1] I am indebted to Mr. Haverfield's "Romano-British Warwickshire," in the *Victoria County History of Warwickshire*, vol. i.

county near Atherstone, and running through its north-eastern corner, passes at Fazeley into Staffordshire. The Fosse Way leading from Lincoln through Leicester to Bath and the west, enters the county at High Cross; passes near Monk's Kirby, the probable site of a villa; leaves Snowford Bridge, Long Itchington, site of a further discovery of Roman relics, on the left; and on past Offchurch, popularly connected with King Offa, but on what authority I know not, reaches Chesterton, and runs through the camp supposed—though Mr. Haverfield has his doubts—to be Roman. There was, however, a Roman settlement here, but it is of unremembered name. At Halford Worcestershire intervenes, but the Fosse soon re-enters Warwickshire, to quit it, however, at Stretton-on-the-Fosse. Unlike Watling Street, now a superb modern main road for many miles in the county, the Fosse often dwindles down to tracks and indescribably rutty lanes. Still, the latter looms large in popular imagination; an old man living at one of the Strettons told me his father used to point to the Milky Way and tell him that was the pathway of the Fosse through the heavens. In the Middle Ages pilgrims called the galaxy of stars "the way to Walsingham" in the sky, so important was the highway, and thronged with travellers, that led to Our Lady's shrine.

Third among Roman roads is Rycknield Street, that connects the towns we know now as Derby, Lichfield, Birmingham, with the Fosse at Bourton-on-the-Water. This road borders the county at Sutton Park; traverses by an uncertain route the city of Birmingham; leaves the shire for that of Worcester; re-enters it; and past Ipsley, Studley, Coughton, comes to Alcester. This locality has furnished comparatively abundant traces of Roman occupation, though there is a hesitancy about scholars when they are called on to identify Alcester with Alauna. The street passes on through Wixford and Bidford, of Shakespearean jingle fame, and so reaching Gloucestershire, comes to Bourton.

Legends linger on in backward communities, and Warwickshire is pre-eminently the shire of local romance. This romance has become a little stale with oftentimes telling, and "show" places, we might think, have a self-conscious air, as if sure of a sympathetic inspection from the casual tourist. Romance, too, often absorbs the interest that were better given to historical realities; yet it is not only priggish, it is unscientific, to despise legends, so valuable is the kernel they often contain, the memory of the customs, magic, fear, or ritual of a primitive people. Naturally this rules out of court downright perversions of history such as the Robsart business in Scott's *Kenilworth*, a form of local romance not to be taken seriously by people over the age of fifteen.

Most celebrated in verse and prose of these local legends is Godiva's. This imperishable story is so true to the facts of human experience, which tells what the nature is of the supreme sacrifice life so constantly demands from the supreme heroine, that the question whether the incident of the ride be true to actual historical fact or no matters little. Of contemporary mention of the ride none exists; the earliest chronicler to record it, Roger of Wendover, died in 1237, at least a hundred and fifty years after Godiva's death. On the other hand, the evidence for its mythical origin is relatively strong, as Mr. Hartland has shown in his *Science of Fairy Tales*.[1] In the first place, the story is not confined to Coventry, but is told in (rough) duplicate of a lady at Briavel's Castle, Gloucestershire, in the Forest of Dean, also a woodland district. In the second place, there is a general fairy-tale element embodied in the "Peeping Tom" incident. Thirdly, in certain religious festivals, such as that of the Portraj in Southern India,[2] unclad, or rather bough-clad, women play a conspicuous part. All this tends to make

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1 To which I am indebted for this information.
2 Allen, *Evolution of Idea of God*, p. 110.

us suppose that some relics of a heathen practice—obscure, half-forgotten by the Christian successors of the ancient peoples of this district—appear to have grouped themselves round Godiva's historic name. The legend is commemorated elsewhere, too; and in the Godiva procession at Southam, as late as the beginning of the last century, a "black lady" was among the cavalcade. Sixty-five years ago, said an old farm labourer, a shepherd and shepherdess, and a man riding a bull (called "the Devil"), were parts of this "Show-fair" held the first Monday in June.[1]

But I am by no means indisposed to believe that either Godiva (a truly beneficent and pious lady) or the wife of one of the Earls of Chester may not have urged the abrogation of some oppressive feudal service on the lord of Coventry. The ancient boasted toll-freedom of the city except for horses, a characteristic of the market as early as the day of Edward I., points to some remission on the part of the owner of the market dues, and the very fact that horses were mentioned in the connection probably suggested the gaining of this remission by means of a ride.[2]

Another relic of ancient ritual comes from Ryton-on-Dunsmore, enshrined in the curious custom of the collection of the so-called wroth silver by the agent of the Duke of Buccleuch, lord of the manor of the Hundred of Knightlow. The collection takes place on Knightlow Hill, at sunrise on Martinmas morning (November 11th); twenty-eight parishes in the Hundred pay sums varying from 2s. 3½d. to 1d., the total amounting to 9s. 3½d. What "wroth silver" is remains yet a puzzle to antiquaries; ward penny or warh penny is a common feudal payment in Warwickshire and elsewhere. But the time and the place and some of the circumstances of the collection point to immemorial antiquity. The assembly takes place at sunrise, a highly

1 Hartland, *Fairy Tales*; and private information.

2 A friend of mine, Miss Brocas Harris, suggested this association of ideas to me.

suggestive hour, and redolent of solar worship. The forfeiture for non-payment is a white bull with red nose and ears, a breed now unknown, but referring to the cattle of prehistoric time. The money is laid by the representatives of the various parishes in a hollow in the stump of an ancient cross, which represents, says Mr. Gomme,[1] a monolith, a sacred stone, and before the ceremony began it was usual for the bystanders *to walk three times round the cross*—whether sunwise or "widershins," *i.e.*, against the sun, is not recorded—beyond question a reminiscence of ancient religious observance. Moreover, the cross stands upon a tumulus, whereof the four corners are marked each by a fir tree, representing, says country tradition, the four knights killed and buried there. The matter requires patient sifting, the publication of any documents bearing on the Hundred Court of Knightlow, and careful philological research.

There is a local tradition that wroth-silver was tribute-money, and certainly the neighbourhood of Dunsmore, near the Watling Street and the Danish border, is prolific in tales, for if the Romans left roads, the Danes have left legends. The story of the Danish conquest bulks much larger in local romance than the Norman one, hardly an extraordinary circumstance, since the latter was a short, sharp conflict, practically decided at Hastings, while the former, with various interruptions and vicissitudes, occupied nearly two hundred years. What unrecorded struggles, raids, and massacres that long period witnessed, who shall tell? We know of one in 1016, when the Danes destroyed Coventry and massacred the local saint, Osburg, virgin and martyr. Possibly the Guy of the Anglo-Norman cycle of stories was originally a local chieftain who had distinguished himself during the Danish invasion. Such a theory is not improbable. Danes appear all over the county. There is a Danes' bank in Coughton Park, a

[1] *Antiquary*, vol. xxix.

Danes' camp in Solihull. The dwarf elder (Sambucus ebulus) is said only to grow where the blood of a Dane has been spilt.[1] So greatly did the English rejoice at the death of Hardicanute, the last Danish king, that Hox Tuesday games were held to celebrate the event.[2] The men of Coventry played the Hox Tuesday plays before Queen Elizabeth in 1575, in commemoration, so they declared, of a victory over the Danes.[3] Probably the story told of a battle to be fought at Rainsbrook, near Dunchurch, where three kings shall appear and their horses be held by a miller with three thumbs, is a reminiscence of an actual fight.[4]

If the Danes left legends, the Normans left castles, not merely mounds, earthworks, and stockading, but solid blocks of masonry. The feudal and military history of the Middle Ages is centred in the two impregnable fortresses of Warwick and Kenilworth. So admirable was their military situation that in the Civil Wars under Charles I., in 1642, Sir Edward Peto defended Warwick with but one piece of ordnance, and only famine forced the De Montfort party to yield Kenilworth in 1266. Both castles became at different periods of their history royal property, either through the rebellion or heirlessness of their respective owners, or through the marriage of heiresses with younger sons of the royal house. Thus the marriage of John of Gaunt, Wycliffe's patron, with Blanche of Lancaster, made him lord of Kenilworth, while that of Richard Crouchback with Anne Neville, the Kingmaker's daughter, transferred Warwick into royal hands. It is of interest to remember that it was during a visit of Richard III. and his queen to Warwick Castle, in August, 1483, that the former determined upon the making away of the two young princes

1 Burgess, *Historic Warwickshire*, p. 29.
2 Rous, *Historia Regum Angliæ*, p. 105.
3 Sharp, *Coventry Mysteries*, pp. 125-132.
4 Burgess, *Historic Warwickshire*, p. 14.

in the Tower.[1] The walled city of Coventry has also its military history, and near connection with the Lancastrian and Yorkist houses. In 1451 Henry VI. visited the city, and offered at St. Michael's Church, on Michaelmas Day, giving freely his robe "of golden tissue furred with a fur of martin sable" to God and the saint in commemoration of the event. A Parliament was held at Coventry during this period, and many councils, wherein frequent attempts were made to patch up reconciliations between inimical parties, between Queen Margaret and the Duke of York under Henry VI., and Warwick and the Woodvilles under Edward IV. The great military event in the city's history was the keeping of it against Edward IV. by the Kingmaker in the Lent of 1471, a piece of defiance the citizens rued later when King Edward came into his own again. Warwick left the city to fight and die at Barnet on Easter Day, and it was possibly at Coventry a little later that the imprisoned Margaret, the woman that brought from the hot-blooded South that terrible lust for personal vengeance which is so characteristic of this ruffianly struggle, heard of the death of her son Edward at Tewkesbury. How he came by his death we know not, this young prince of great promise, but he cried unto his brother-in-law, Clarence, for succour, says a chronicler. And among all those woeful acts of a time full of stupidity and blind hate, none seems more horrible than the picture these words call forth.

The pageant of State prisoners at Kenilworth is a more moving picture than the fancied woeful sojourn of Amy Robsart there. In January, 1327, Edward II., the king with the imbecile-looking forehead, half fainting from misery and poorly clad, signed the renunciation of the crown in the great hall of the castle. Eleanor Cobham, who supplanted her mistress Jacqueline in the affections of the "good" Duke Humfrey, was imprisoned

1 Gairdner, *Richard III.*

Warwick Castle : South Front.

there on a charge of treason and witchcraft between 1441 and 1447. Perhaps her only fault had been that she tried to awaken the interest of young Henry VI. in natural science.[1] Humfrey seems, in spite of his worthlessness, to have been a popular character, and figures curiously enough in Foxe's *Martyrs*, no doubt because of the hostility of the Church, as typified by Cardinal Beaufort. Both husband and wife appear in Shakespeare's *Henry VI.*, and possibly in treating of the Lancastrian-Yorkist period Shakespeare may have used some local traditions. Eleanor had been fêted in Warwickshire in her happier days, for when in 1431 she sojourned at Fulbrook Castle, near Barford, the citizens of Coventry sent goodly presents of fish and wine to the Duke and Duchess.[2]

Besides Edward II. another dethroned king has connections with this shire. In 1397, in the height of his power, Richard II. held that extraordinary pageant of the baulked duellists at Gosford Green, on a strip of greensward, preserved as common, and not yet given over to the jerry builder. Richard II., vain, beautiful, alternating between savage imperiousness and nervous collapse, had one supreme moment, when he faced the rebels in 1381, after the death of Wat Tyler, and by his *sang-froid* and promptitude probably saved himself and his followers from instant death. Warwickshire has its link with that marvellous and pathetic rising of the serfs. Not only were the rebels expecting help from Coventry and Warwick, but after the failure of the revolt, John Ball, who has become the saint of modern Socialism, fled to Coventry on his way towards the west. Here he was captured in an old ruin, and taken off to die a shameful death at St. Albans. All the world knows John Ball's celebrated sermon with its sound of the eternal puzzle, the

1 *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, s.v. Plantagenet, Humfrey.
2 Dormer Harris, *Life in an Old English Town*, p. 146.

eternal complaint, the unequal distribution of good and ill in human life:—

"'We be all come fro one father and one mother, Adam and Eve. Wherby can they [*i.e.*, gentlemen] say or shewe that they be gretter lordes than we be? . . . They dwell in fayre houses, and we have the payne and traveyle, raine and wynde in the feldes; and by that that cometh of our labours they kepe and maynteyne their estates.' . . . And the people . . . wolde murmure one with another in the feldes and in the wayes as they went togyder, affermyng how Jehan Ball sayd trouthe."[1]

Richard II. has another connection with Warwickshire. In 1385 he completed Lord Zouch's foundation of the Carthusian monastery, St. Anne's, or the Charter House at Coventry. Part of this building yet remains, and under the plaster of one room a portion of a gigantic fresco of the Crucifixion has been discovered, with many other pieces of decoration. This monastery had a celebrated inmate in one Nicholas Hereford, once a leader of the Lollards, and a collaborator in Wycliffe's translation of the Bible. After his tenets had been condemned by the council, Hereford set off to Rome on a mission to convert the Pope. But the sovereign Pontiff not only refused to be converted, but cast the clever disputant for his pains into prison. There he might have languished till his death, had not the mob in a popular rising burst open the prisons and set the inmates free. Hereford went home and lived to "make through cowardice the great refusal." After being "grievously tormented" at the castle of Saltwood, Kent, he recanted at Paul's Cross, deserting his friends and Wycliffitism, and was substantially rewarded by church preferment. The Lollards bitterly reproached him for his apostasy, and he in his turn showed a fierce zeal in confuting and persecuting his former associates. Late in life he became a Carthusian monk at St. Anne's, and died after 1417.

The history of Lollardry in Warwickshire were well worth the writing. Lutterworth is but just over the

[1] Jusserand, *Wayfaring Life*, p. 285 (from Berners' *Froissart*).

Leicestershire border; and many of Wycliffe's followers must have passed through this county on their way to the West. Coventry was always a strong Lollard centre. Swynderby, one of Wycliffe's principal adherents, preached there and made many converts, till he was forced to go by reason of the hostility of the clergy. Still, the effect of his preaching endured until the Reformation. Coventry was a centre for the publishing of Lollard books in Oldcastle's lifetime, and Oldcastle himself took refuge with one John Lacy, Vicar of Chesterton, some time in or before 1415-16. Foxe, of the *Book of Martyrs* fame, who married the daughter of a Coventry citizen, and was in 1545 the Lucys' guest at Charlecote, supplies from eye-witnesses and contemporaries personal touches of the greatest interest. I like the story of John Careless, the Protestant weaver, of Coventry, who died in prison in 1556, and was so trusted by his jailor as to be let out on parole at the feast of Corpus Christi so that he might play in the pageant with his fellow craftsmen. After the play was over Careless returned to prison.[1] The one surviving MS. copy of the Coventry mystery plays is the Weavers' —"The Presentation of Christ at the Temple"—and the manuscript gains an added value in the thought that Careless may have learnt his part from that copy.

Persecutions were rife in the great wool-weaving city in 1485 and in 1519. In the former year some eight or nine persons, who held unorthodox views, chiefly about the Sacrament and the efficacy of pilgrimages to the image of Our Lady of the Tower at Coventry, were forced to recant and do penance. In 1519, seven of the craftsmen class, who differed from the rest of the city in godliness of life, were burned, chiefly for teaching their children the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments in English.[2]

Concerning one of them, Mistress Smith, a widow, the following story is told:—She was dismissed for the present

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1 *Foxe*, vol. viii., p. 170. 2 *Ibid.*, vol. iv., pp. 133, 557.

and sent away, and it being dark, the summoner, Simon Mourton, who had been very active against the Lollards, offered to give her his protection homewards. As he led her by the arm he heard something rattle in her sleeve, and found it to be a scroll having the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Articles of the Faith in English. "Come," said he, "as good now as another time"; and he brought her again to the bishop, who immediately condemned her. So she suffered with the others in the Little Park.

Unforgettable is the account of Robert Glover, as told by his friend, Austen Bernher, some time of Southam.[1] Robert Glover, who belonged to the famous Mancetter martyrs, was condemned to be burnt at Coventry in 1555. As the time drew nigh he felt no spiritual exaltation, but remained "lumpish," and had so much "heaviness and dullness of spirit," that he feared the Lord had withdrawn His favour from him. This mood continued until, on his way to the stake, suddenly "he was so mightily replenished with God's holy comfort and heavenly joy, that he cried out, clapping his hands, to Austen, and saying unto him these words, 'Austen, He is come, He is come,' and that with such joy and alacrity as one seeming rather to be risen from some deadly danger to liberty and life, than as one passing out of the world by any pains of death."[2]

But if weavers and cappers in large cities which had kept alive the Wycliffite tradition were willing to suffer for their faith, the country squire in remoter districts clung to the old religion, dared mightily and suffered for it, what time Catholic recusancy was a serious bar to a man's success in life. The Gunpowder Plot had this one characteristic which damns it—unsuccess. Had Catesby succeeded in blowing up everybody of importance in England and establishing a Catholic *régime*, thereby changing the whole course of history, the verdict of posterity would have been entirely different.

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1 *Foxe.* 2 *Ibid.*

The Gunpowder Plot was a Warwickshire conspiracy; Robert Catesby, the prime mover in it, was a Warwickshire man, born probably at Bushwood, near Lapworth. Robert Grant, whose house at Northbrook, between Stratford and Warwick, was the rendezvous and powder magazine of the conspirators, was of the gentry of the county. Other conspirators rented houses in the neighbourhood in order to be near the scene of action; thus Ambrose Rokewood rented Clopton, near Stratford, from the Carews; Sir Everard Digby, to whom the task of rousing the Catholic gentry of the Midlands was assigned, domiciled himself at Coughton, the home of the Throckmortons; while the Wrights moved to Lapworth. There was a regular network of conspirators' houses all over the county, and in some of these houses the construction of secret hiding-places had become a fine art.[1]

It was a wild-cat scheme, such as is only planned by desperate men. The conspirators were mostly converts—Jesuit converts. Some owed their conversion to the celebrated Father Parsons, and had been indoctrinated with the idea that the end justifies the means; if they were men of old families, they were—with a few exceptions—men with broken fortunes, who had everything to gain and little to hazard by the advent of the new order. But at the same time they were men whose grievances were perfectly real and well-grounded. In the old Queen's time they had groaned under her rule; hers was the tyrannical spirit of old age, thronged with fears; and she was well served by the plodding Cecils, who in their turn were well served with spies. But the Catholic disappointment at the conduct of Mary Stuart's son was bitter, and despair begets temerity. Catesby and his friends were well-known malcontents, and their proceedings were carefully watched by agents of the Government, who seem to have been aware

1 At Clopton there was a little chapel hidden in the roof.

of the conspiracy a long time before Mounteagle's letter arrived or Fawkes was taken.[1]

The story is almost too well known for repetition. Before midnight on November 4th Fawkes was seized, and by four o'clock the next morning they brought him to the king's chamber. The word passed to the conspirators that all was lost; and they started down the Holyhead Road to meet their confederates at Dunchurch. Ambrose Rokewood, whose fine stud his fellow plotters had deemed a sufficient excuse for including him in their design, had placed relays of mounts at different stages of the road. All rode at a terrific speed. Rokewood, who started later, caught up the earliest fugitives and covered the distance of eighty-one miles within seven hours, while Percy and John Wright, as they galloped, cast off their cloaks to lighten the horses' load.

The party arrived at Dunchurch with failure written on their faces, and incontinent the group of Midland Catholics melted away. Then Catesby and his following made a wild dash for Wales through the terrible night, tearing through Princethorp, Weston, and Lillington till they came to Warwick, where they stole the King's horses from the Castle, and likewise those found in the stables of one Mr. Benock, a horse trainer, for they were in sore need of fresh mounts. How they dashed on to Northbrook, where Grant lived, on to Haddington, the Winters' home, on to Hewell Grange, Lord Windsor's, and then to Holbeche, the Littletons', the sheriff at their heels, is a familiar story. By a strange coincidence some gunpowder they put to dry by the fire exploded and scorched their faces, an occurrence which horribly damped their spirits. Robert Winter related a dream he had had wherein he saw steeples "stand awry," and within the churches "strange and unknown faces," which he afterwards called to mind, seeing the disfigured, scorched countenances of his companions.

[1] See "The Gunpowder Plot," *Memorials of Old Northamptonshire.*

At last the end came. The sheriff's party arrived at Holbeche.

Thomas Winter was shot in the shoulder and lost the use of his right arm. There were left Catesby, Percy, the Wrights, Rokewood, and Grant. Rokewood and the Wrights fell before the rest. Then said Catesby to Winter, standing before the door whereby the sheriff's posse were to enter: "Stand by me, Tom, and we will die together." "So we stood close together, Mr. Catesby, Mr. Percy, and myself," says Winter's narrative—"they two were shot, as far as I could guess, with one bullet—and then the company entered upon me, hurt me in the belly with a pike, and gave me other wounds."[1]

The scene closes, of course, for some of the conspirators yet more tragically on the scaffold, and with them died the hopes of the extreme Catholic party in England.

There are stories of other rides, of Charles I.'s wanderings before Edgehill fight, and of his son's after Worcester. Other royal visits occurred; James II. came to Coventry and William III. to Warwick. The eighteenth century witnessed the rise of Birmingham, the nineteenth of Leamington. But it is not possible to tell of everything in so short a space. The history of Warwickshire is a great story in little room, one of mighty happenings in one small nook of the earth. When it has been studied more scientifically than hitherto, in Dugdale's spirit but with modern lights, we may find a great deal that may help us with modern problems. For when all is said and done, our forefathers were very little removed in feeling and thought from us, the present inhabitants of this insignificant planet.

MARY DORMER HARRIS.

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1 Sidney, *Gunpowder Plot*, p. 229; Gardiner, *History of England*, vol. i., and *What the Gunpowder Plot was; Burgess*, pp. 268-70.

STONELEIGH ABBEY

THE history of Stoneleigh Abbey is romantic and interesting from its earliest days, when, in the middle of the twelfth century, some Cistercian monks came with their abbot from Staffordshire, and made their home on the banks of the Avon, fished in its waters, and lived in peace until they were suppressed by Henry VIII., when the abbot, Thomas Tetbury, was given a pension of £23 a year, and the monks found other shelter.

Some "Leiger Books" written on vellum, in Latin, are preserved at the abbey, and testify to the merry life led by the monks. One of the curious concessions accorded them in the reign of Edward IV. was from two owners of land in the adjoining village of Ashow, who

> ". . . Had license to grant, *inter alia*, 8 mess. 2 carucats, 20 acres of land, twelve acres of wood, xii. shillings, a pound of Pepper, and a red Rose yearly rent, all lying here, with half the fishing in Avon, to the Monks of Stoneley for ever. All which coming to the Crown by the dissolution of that Monastery, is possest by the Lord Leigh, together with Stoneley, and most of the lands sometime belonging thereto."[1]

The abbey was given to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, by his royal brother-in-law. An excellent likeness of the Duke remains in the house, which shows him to be a man of great strength and determination. The supposed curse of owning abbey lands seemed to pursue him, for his two sons died childless, and his large possessions passed to his cousins. The monastery of Stoneleigh fell to the lot of William Cavendish, of Trimley. He sold it to

1 Dugdale's *Warwickshire*, under Ashow.

STONELEIGH ABBEY: GATE-HOUSE.

Sir Rowland Hill, a rich London merchant and alderman. Sir Rowland Hill gave it to Sir Thomas Leigh, his *protégé* and apprentice, who had married his niece, Alice Barker. This couple lived to a great age. Dame Alice Leigh built some picturesque almshouses, which still shelter the poor in Stoneleigh village.

The most notable portion of the old abbey which still remains is the gate-house, where beggars came to beg alms. It was also probably used as a place of reception for guests. On the north wall are engraved the arms of Henry II., on a large stone escutcheon. This was placed there in memory of the founder of the abbey by Robert de Hockele, a young but "sage and prudent" abbot, who died in 1349. Under the ivy-grown archway can be seen ten large circular holes cut in an ancient wooden bench. Their original use is uncertain, but they were probably meant to hold lances in later warlike days.

The Abbot's House, across the lawn, with its beautifully carved oak staircase, is in a perfect state of preservation, as are also some fine Norman arches; and the long crypt, with its groined roof, wrapped in mysterious darkness, makes us long to know its early history. In later years this crypt was used as a brew-house. It is introduced into a picture at Stoneleigh, in which a Royalist butler and brewer are endeavouring to persuade a Roundhead baker to drink to the King's health.

A room in the old Abbey is thought to be the ancient chapter-house; in the middle of it stands a massive stone pillar. Beautiful Norman arches and carving still remain.

A large church, of which no vestige remains, stood on the lawn; Dugdale speaks of its having had a "great eastern window above the high altar," quire stalls, and "carved work under the steeple," all which was the work of Robert de Hockele.

Sir Thomas Leigh was Lord Mayor of London when Queen Elizabeth visited the city at her coronation, and rode before her as she proceeded to St. Paul's Cathedral.

It was doubtless on this occasion that she presented to the Lord Mayor what is called "the pearl sword" of the City of London. This sword is still offered by the Lord Mayor at Temple Bar to the reigning Sovereign when he makes a State visit to the city. The Mercers have a fair covered cup of silver gilt, which was left to them by Sir Thomas Leigh in his will, and which has the hall-mark of 1499-1500. Sir Thomas was buried in the company's chapel, where his epitaph declares that—

"Sir Thomas Leigh in civil life
All offices did beare,
Which in this city worshipfull
Or honourable were.

"Whom as God blessed with great wealth
So losses did he feele,
Yet never changed he constant mind
Tho' Fortune turned her wheel."

A great-grandson of Sir Thomas, another Sir Thomas Leigh, is said to have been a giant. It is told of him that on one occasion, finding a man riding a donkey trespassing within his park, he lifted up man and beast and threw them over the gates. He is represented in an old painting in the abbey pointing to a skull. Was it that of the unfortunate man whom he threw over the gate?

This giant was created a baron by Charles I. That ill-fated monarch, when on his way to set up his standard at Nottingham, attended by six hundred horsemen, found the gates of Coventry closed against him. In his distress he turned to Stoneleigh Abbey, where he was received with "right plenteous and hospitable entertainment, while the cavaliers made the poore countrymen's houses their inns, and there they made their own welcome, taking what they preferred."

In token of his gratitude the King gave his host a bronze medal of himself, which is preserved in the abbey.

Two hundred years after King Charles I. found an asylum at Stoneleigh, another royal visitor graced it with

her presence. Queen Victoria, accompanied by the Prince Consort, spent a few days at the Abbey. It is still remembered how, on a glorious June night in 1858, a vast concourse of people flocked round the terrace to catch a glimpse of their Sovereign, and when she appeared on the terrace steps leaning on the arm of Lord Leigh, they all spontaneously sang, as with one voice, "God save the Queen," thus giving vent to their loyalty and delight.

The fifth successor to the barony built, in 1704, what is called the new part of the house, which communicates with the old abbey by long corridors, one of them believed to be on the site of the south aisle of the church, which no longer exists.

An inner courtyard formed part of the burying-ground of the monks. A few years ago some skeletons were unearthed here. They were re-interred in the same place.

The "new" part of the house was well described by Jane Austen in a letter lately published, in which she gave a detailed account of each room. She was on a visit to the Leigh family at the time, and was much struck by the vastness of the house. The architect, John Smith, was one of the three prominent architects of his day. The white saloon and the chapel were decorated by Cipriani, in his most ornate and graceful style. Carved medallions are on the walls of the saloon, and scenes in relief on the ceilings represent the Labours of Hercules—the taming of the boar, the slaying of the lion; and on a broad panel over the western mantelpiece the hero is seen leaning on his spear, and making his choice between Pallas and Aphrodite.

In the library is the fine picture of Lord Byron, by Phillips. On the walls of the velvet drawing-room hang the portraits of the founders of the house; but it is in the dining-room that we see the most interesting pictures. A fine Van Dyck of Charles I. has a curious story; for many years it was concealed beneath a painting of flowers, until,

about fifty years ago, Sir George Beaumont, being a guest at Stoneleigh, noticed an eye peering out from among the flowers. The bouquet was cleared off and the portrait was revealed.

In this room are also portraits of the King of Bohemia and of the Queen, who was sister to Charles I.; Strafford dictating to his secretary his answer to the letter in which Charles I. conveyed to him his inability to save his life; the Countess of Derby, with lace ruff and ropes of pearls—this lady was the Amaryllis of Spenser.

There is also a painting of Alice, "Dutchess Dudley," whose story is most romantic. She was the daughter of Sir Thomas Leigh, and married Sir Robert Dudley, son of the Earl of Leicester, of Elizabethan fame. For some years after their marriage the young couple lived happily together, with their four little daughters, at Kenilworth Castle; but after Lord Leicester's death his son spent much time and energy in trying to prove his legitimacy, which the father had denied.

The story of this controversy is so quaint and so historically interesting that it may be given at some length.

Sir Robert Dudley's mother was the widow of Lord Sheffield, and daughter of Lord Howard of Effingham. Leicester had married her privately (although nine witnesses were present). He never acknowledged the marriage publicly, and in his will he left Kenilworth Castle, and many other properties to "my base son, Sir Robert Dudley."

Sir Robert, knowing that in case he could prove his legitimacy he would become not only Earl of Leicester, but Earl of Warwick as well (his uncle Ambrose, Earl of Warwick, had no children), began a suit, but Lady Essex, Leicester's widow, bitterly opposed it, as it affected her honour and fortune, and she succeeded not only in stopping the proceedings, but also in bringing all the depositions taken to the Star Chamber, where they were sealed and put away in the Council chest.

Sir Robert had been able to prove by witnesses, according to Dugdale, that—

". . . Lady Douglas was solemnly wedded to his Father, by a lawful Minister, in the presence of Sir Horsey Knight, that gave her in marriage, with nine other persons, and that the ring wherewith they were so marryed was set with five pointed Diamonds, and a table Diamond, which had been given to him, the said Earl, by the Earl of Pembroke's Grandfather, upon condition that he should not bestow it upon any but whom he did make his wife—and moreover that the Duke of Northumberland was the principal mover of the said marriage, but that the said Earl pretending a fear of the Queen's indignation, in case it should come to her knowledge, made her [Lady Douglas] vow not to reveal it till he gave leave, whereupon all her servants were commanded secrecy therein."

According to the evidence, Robert was born at Shene, and a letter was read from Leicester to Lady Douglas—

". . . Wherein his Lordship did thank God for the birth of his said son, who might be their comfort and staffe in their old age, and subscribed Your loving Husband, Rob. Leicester. As also that the said Lady was after this served in her chamber as a Countess, untill he commanded the contrary, for fear the marriage should be disclosed."

Leicester shortly afterwards became enamoured of Lady Lettice, widow of Lord Essex, whom he married in his wife's lifetime—that he then offered his wife £700 a year and the close Arbour of the Queen's Garden at Greenwich if she would disclaim her marriage, and upon her refusal "terryfying her with protestations that he would never come at her, and that she should never have a penny from him."

Leicester persecuted her, and

". . . There wants not strong suspicion, that, being doubtfull lest the life of the same Lady Douglas might minister discourse to this foul play, he designed to dispatch her out of this world; for certain it is that she had some ill potions given her, so that with the loss of her hair and nails, she hardly escap'd death; which being discerned, to secure herself from the like attempts for the future, she contracted marriage with Sir Edward Stafford (a person of great honour and parts, and some time employ'd as an Embassador into France) whereof, afterwards, most sadly repenting, she said, that she had thereby done the greatest wrong that could be to herself and son."

Notwithstanding all this evidence, all proceedings were stopped, and the depositions sealed up.

Sir Robert Dudley, astonished and exasperated, obtained a licence to travel for three years, and went to Italy, "whereof his adversaries taking advantage, procured his summons to return by a special Privy Seal; unto which not obeying, the castle and all his lands were seized unto the King's use, by virtue of the Statute of fugitives."

Sir Robert left England and his young wife, but he did not go alone; he was accompanied by the beautiful Elizabeth Southwell, daughter of Sir Richard Southwell, and maid-of-honour to James' Queen, "who went with him into Italy in the habit of a Page, and there married him."

This elopement caused a great scandal at Court, and an unsuccessful endeavour was made to stop the runaways; but they reached Florence, and lived and died there. The fair Elizabeth became the mother of twelve children.

Sir Robert was then "about thirty-five years of age, of exquisite stature, with a fair beard, and noble appearance."

His genius and talent soon made him indispensable to the Grand Duke of Tuscany; and he wrote a book on navigation, entitled *Arcano del Mare*, illustrated with plans and charts, which still exist in fresco on the walls of a chamber in the Palazzo Vecchio at Florence. He had also a great knowledge of chemistry. Ferdinand II., Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, created him Duke of Northumberland. He built a palace for himself at Florence. Most of his children married into ducal and princely Italian families. He died near Florence in 1649.

His deserted wife remained in England, where she gave herself up to good works. Charles I. created her Duchess Dudley for life; the patent is most curious and quaintly worded. It mentions the suit brought by Dudley to establish his legitimacy, with full details, and goes on to say that he left the country, as he could not gain his cause,

". . . Whereof his adversaries taking advantage, procured a special Privy-seal to be sent unto him, commanding his return into England; which he not obeying (because his honour and lands were denied unto him), all his lands were therefore seiz'd on to the King our Father's use."

And not long afterwards Prince Henry,

". . . Our dear brother deceas'd made overture to the said Sir Robert, by special instruments, to obtain his title by purchase of and in Kenilworth Castle, in our County of Warwick, and his manors, parks and chases belonging to the same; which upon a great undervalue, amounted (as we are credibly informed) to about fifty thousand pounds; but were bought by the Prince our brother in consideration of 14,500 pounds."

The King goes on to say that, his brother departing this life, only £3,000 were paid over (if any at all)—

". . . And we ourselves, as heir to the said Prince our brother, came to the possession thereof.

"And whereas our dear Father, not knowing the truth of the lawful birth of the said Sir Robert (as we piously believe) granted away the titles of the said Earldoms to others, which we now hold not fit to call into question, nor ravel into our deceas'd Father's actions; especially they having been so long enjoyed by these families, to whom the honours were granted (which we do not intend to alter).

"And yet, we having a very deep sense of the great injuries done to the said Robert Dudley, and the Lady Alice Dudley, and their children; and that we are of opinion, that in justice and equity, these possessions so taken from them, do rightly belong to them, or full satisfaction for the same; and holding ourselves in honour and conscience obliged to make them reparation now, as far as our present ability will enable us, and also taking into our consideration the said great estate, which she the said Lady Alice Dudley had in Kenilworth, and sold at our desire to us, at a very great undervalue, and yet not perform'd or satisfied, to many thousand pounds damage."

The patent then confers the title of Duchess Dudley on Lady Alice, and the precedence of Duke's children to her daughters, one of whom had married Sir Richard Leveson, of Trentham Hall, Staffordshire.

Alice, Duchess Dudley, was a great benefactress to the villages of Stoneleigh, Ashow, and others, and also to the church of St. Giles in London, near which she had a

house. She left many gifts to this church, including "the great bell of the steeple, which as oft as it ringeth, soundeth her praise." She left to the sexton a sum of money, "to toll the great Bell, when the prisoners condemned to die shall be passing by, and to ring out after they shall be executed." Similar gifts were left to various churches, on condition that her name should be mentioned annually in the sermon preached on Whit-Sunday, a custom which to this day is faithfully observed by the Vicar of Stoneleigh. A beautiful marble monument in Stoneleigh church represents the reclining figures of the Duchess and her unmarried daughter. It is the work of Nicholas Stone, master mason to Charles I., "who engaged him for the building and reparation of Windsor Castle, at the fee of twelvepence a day."

Other quaint bequests were "a sum of ten shillings yearly towards the repair of the church at Stoneleigh, and also twenty-two shillings and eightpence to a Preacher for to preach four sermons there yearly."

Her body was brought by road from London, and she ordered "that sixpence should be given to every poor body that should meet her corps on the road."

There is a persistent rumour that at one time in his wanderings the young Pretender found his way to Stoneleigh Abbey; that an artist was summoned to the abbey to paint the Prince's portrait, which now hangs there; and that he was conveyed inside a beer-barrel, in a cart, to Coventry.

Certain it is that, a few years ago, a beautiful miniature of Charles Edward, and two lockets, with locks of hair and his initials engraved on the glass, were found in a secret drawer of a small cabinet in one of the drawing-rooms, which tends to verify the legend.

The old Lords Leigh always passed their wine-glasses over the water.

When Queen Anne was crowned in 1702, the Lord Leigh of that date went up to London from Stoneleigh

Stoneleigh Abbey.

for the coronation. The journey, which is now accomplished by train in two hours, then occupied eight days; prayers were offered up in church for his safety; and a bill for "lifting his lordship's carriage out of the ruts" is among the family archives.

Some amusing stories of the family are preserved in manuscript by an ancestress.

Of a certain Mrs. Wentworth (whose portrait is still in existence), who came for a short visit; she and her hosts, however, agreed so well, that she remained for forty years!

Of a Lord Leigh, who lived both winter and summer with his doors open, so that his dogs could go, without hindrance, in and out of the garden.

Of Theophilus Leigh, a courtier of the time of Charles I.,

". . . Which was a strange medley of ceremonials and too great freedoms—the *former* was our grandfather's forte—he had the low bow (even to adoration) for his superiors, and for the ladies; he had the running bow, the collected bow, the blowing out of the cheeks—the sweep of the chin, over the cravat, which distinguishing the Sovereign, was imitated by all the people of 'ton.'"

One owner of Stoneleigh

". . . Usually breakfasted in his morning gown and the very identical and frightful fur cap (brought from Turkey by Lord Chandos) in which his Father used to walk. Mrs. Leigh (in his absence) gave it to a poor old bald man; very much discomposed Mr. Leigh purchased it back for a crown, and the next morning appeared triumphantly in it at breakfast, to the mortification of the family."

The wife of the before-mentioned Lord Chandos was a very beautiful woman, and the writer of the foregoing extracts says—

"Your grandfather William Leigh was ever the favourite grandchild of this lady; and upon his return from abroad, used to call upon her most days when in town; but she preferring Reputation to indulging this amiable regard, said to him one day: 'My dear Billy, tho' I dearly love you—you are a pretty young man, and therefore must not come so often; for all the world do not know you are my grandson.' She must then have been far advanced in life—her glass still exhibited

a beautiful face, and she might think Ninon de l'Enclos' were not solely confined to France.

"Lady Chandos lived hospitably and greatly respected, after her Lord's death. She died May, 1719. Mr. Leigh being one of her grandchildren was ordered to attend her Corps to its interment at Alconbury; saw her woman (in compliance with her Lady's last command) descend into the vault, collect all the dust she could gather from Lord Chandos's coffin, and placing it on her Lady's—return up the stairs, lock the door, and throw the key (thro' an aperture purposely made) into the Sepulchre, giving orders that it should be finally closed."

This William Leigh became the intimate friend of Lord Blandford, son of Lord Godolphin, by the eldest daughter of John, Duke of Marlborough, and they travelled abroad together for three years.

According to our family historian—

". . . Nature designed Lord Blandford for an excellent man, but the joviality of the times, his own social disposition, and the errors of his education, in some measure counteracted her design; tho' even the freedom of the age could never eradicate from his mind a high sense of Religion.

"If Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, ever loved anything it was this grandson. Nevertheless, when he notified to her his design of marrying Mademoiselle Mecca de Young (daughter of a rich Burgomaster at Utrecht, who my lord met there when he went with Mr. Leigh from England), she sent him a reply filled with such ingenious curses that only herself could invent. Lord Blandford married the Lady directly, well knowing his grandmother's maxim, 'Make ye best of a bad thing,' for the next mail abounded with blessings and her Grace's impatient desire of embracing Lady Blandford.

"In August, 1731, the annual High Borlace (a very high Tory meeting, so called from its founder), being, as usual, held at Oxford, Lord Blandford honoured Dr. Leigh's lodgings with his company. He came ill and heated by a late meeting, full of promises of sobriety and repentance to Dr. Leigh, whose polite yet sincere reproofs he ever courted. The bottle prevailed over the man! My lord was in the penitentials the following day, and went only to church. That evening his brain was seized by a frenzy fever; he had intervals; and kept Dr. Leigh most part of the night reading prayers. He died early next morning.

"Expresses having been despatched, the old Duchess stopped at Balliol, from Langley, about ten. Dr. Leigh led Her Grace in. 'How is poor Blandford?' said she. No reply. 'Aye, I suppose he is dead: I would have given half my estate to have saved him. The title will come to Moll Congreve at last. [Meaning his sister, the late excellent

Duchess of Leeds.] I hope the . . . is now picking *that* man's bones who taught him to drink. I don't mean *you*, Doc. (*sic*)—his name was Man, and he first deprived me of my son.'

"Half upstairs she turned to Lady Die Spencer, shaking a high crab stick—'Where's my basket, Die? Did I not charge you to bring it?' The future Duchess of Bedford returned lugging from the coach a huge hand-basket supposed to contain money. She [*the Duchess*] stayed two hours, sending for the doctors and talking the case over in their technical terms.

"Poor Lady Blandford having just come she overpowered her with kindness (yet never saw her more), and on descending the stairs, turning round to Mrs. Leigh, said—'I shall take another opportunity of satisfying the woman of the house.'"

The vault at Blenheim being not finished, "my lord's corps remained in the lodgings . . . This amiable and well-intentioned lord had fixed on a spot on Adlestrop Hill to build a box upon, in order to spend much time near his dear friend, Mr. Leigh."

The first Lord Leigh of the second creation was an intimate friend of Lord Byron, and was his fag at Harrow. The last night that the poet spent in England was in the company of Lord Leigh; they went to the opera, and supped afterwards together at the Albany. Lord Byron left England on the following day never to return.

The deer park at Stoneleigh is situated about half a mile from the house, and its unrivalled oaks are famous throughout England. One of them is still called "Shakespeare's Oak," for tradition says that the "Bard of Avon" composed some of his immortal plays beneath its shade.

Not far off stood a "Gospel Oak," now, alas! fallen to the ground, but carefully fenced in to preserve it. In the park also stands a quaint and pretty deer-keeper's lodge, with the rooms panelled in oak, and an old painting, hung on the wall, recalls the glories of other days, for a Lord Leigh is seen therein in mulberry-coloured coat and peruke and three-cornered hat, dashing up to the lodge in a coach-and-six!

Many deer find a home in the park, adding to the beauty of the scene as they lie, or stand, in the alternating sunshine and shadow of the lovely glades.

HELÉNÈ LEIGH.

THE TAPESTRY MANUFACTURE AT BARCHESTON

TOWARDS the middle of the sixteenth century there was established in Warwickshire a tapestry manufacture, under native direction, the founder of which was an English gentleman, William Sheldon, of Weston and Brailes in Warwickshire, and Beoley in Worcestershire, who is mentioned in the Sheldon pedigree in Dugdale as "Gul[s] Sheldon de Beoley,"[1] who "*primus in Angliam suo sumptu tapeta texendi artem advexit.*" William Sheldon had acquired Barcheston by his marriage with one of the daughters and coheiresses of William Willington of that place, originally a "wealthy merchant of the Staple," who settled himself at "Bercheston," and having no issue male, "advanced his seven daughters in marriage to divers good familyes."

This William Sheldon had purchased the Manor of Weston, in the parish of Long Compton, and obtained leave from Henry VIII. to "impark CCC acres of land, meadow, pasture, and wood, to be called by the name of Weston Park for ever"; and here his son Ralph built a "very fair house." He ordered a certain Richard Hyckes, of Barcheston, to travel in the Low Countries in order to study the craft of tapestry weaving; and on Hyckes' return, looms were set up at Barcheston and at Weston. There is a tradition that Flemish workers were introduced,

1 "Their chief seat be at Beoly, where many of them lye very honourably interred" (Dugdale).

which is exceedingly probable, but the supposed evidence for it—that in some of the tapestry maps done in the manufactory, the English words are spelt in the continental fashion[1]—is absurd. The names, etc., are no more oddly spelt than in other contemporary works, such as letters and journals.

In his will William Sheldon styles Richard Hickes, "the only author and beginner of this art within this realm"; and later, the Sheldon manufactory was producing tapestry maps about 1640, under the direction of Francis Hicks, or Hyckes, who was educated at St. Mary Hall, Oxford, 1579-158$\frac{2}{3}$, and whom Anthony à Wood mentions in his *Athenæ Oxonienses*[2] as "son of Rich. Hicks an arras-weaver of Barcheston commonly called Barston in Warwickshire." Strenuous Royalists, the Sheldons injured their estates by their loyalty; and the succeeding generations after the Restoration did not repair the damage. The mansion at Weston was pulled down; and the maps, which were then hanging at Weston, were sold in 1781 to Horace Walpole.

The following extracts from the will of William Sheldon, made in January, 1569-70, give evidences of his interest in his manufacture, and of the names of his employés. To his son William he bequeaths various furniture at Beoley,

". . . Except the hangings of tapstrye and Arras which I do will shall remayn at Beoley from heyre to heyre."

Also certain sums are to be

". . . Lent freely from tyme to tyme vppon good suerties to such p̃son and p̃sonnes as shall occupye and vse the arte of making of Tapstrye and arras or either of theym wtin the Countye of Worcester and Warr̃ and in the Cities of Worcester and Coventree" . . . [*i.e.*, to] "Willm̃ Dowler nowe šruñt to Richard Heeks the onely alter [*sic*] and begynner of this Arte wtin this Realme."

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1 Gough thought that "the spelling savours of Flemish taste."
2 Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. ii., p. 491 (Ed. Bliss).

From a *Codicil*, dated 28th September, 1570, we learn that Hickes, or Heekes, was established by him at Barcheston:—

"And whereas I have placed in the mansion howse of Barchestow aforesaid one Richard Heekes and grannted hym the myll there and all the howses Orchards Gardeyns the going pasturing and Feading of XVII kyen VI horses and certen other Cattell wtout paying any Rent in money for the same / but onely to make certen malt for me and to carrye certeyn of my corne and hay / and cheifly in respect of the mayntenannce of making of Tapstrye arras moccadoes carolles plonketts grograynes sayes and Sarges / And where also the said Richard Heeks and I are condiscended and agreed that certeyn money shalbe yerely disbursed and layd out by me and my heyres towardes the making of the said tapstry and other things before recited / And howe and in what mañ the same shalbe annswered to me my heyres and executors and a recompence also for the said howse and other things to the said Richard Heeks grannted as by a bill Indented made betwene hym and me more playnly at Large apperith / And for asmoche as the same Richard Heeks haith bestowed and must bestowe on the howses there a good pece of money to make all things necessary for workemen to worke in the p̃misses / And for that his trade wilbe gratly beneficiall to this co̅mon welth to trade youthe in / and a meane to secure [?] great so̅mes of money within this Realme that will yssue and go out of this Realme for the same co̅modities to the mayntenannce of the Foren p̃ties / and to the hynderannce of this co̅mon welthe / And considering that I do thyncke my said welbeloued sonne Rauf will haue the same consideraco̅ion to the co̅mon wellth as I nowe haue or more / I do will and dewyse that my said sonne Rauff yf he do pmitt and suffer the said Richard Heeks to haue and Inioye the said howse and all other things specifyed in the said wrytings made betwene me and the said Richard Heeks."

Finally, Sheldon alludes to his hope that Richard Hicks will

"/ contyneue the exercysing of the said trade to so good a purpose as he hath begun."

Extant pieces which are signed, and known to have come from this Warwickshire manufactory, are the various maps of the English counties which are preserved in the museum at York and in the Bodleian Library.

The two maps in the Bodleian are imperfect, and are both backed with yellow material. The more complete

specimen represents Warwickshire, Gloucestershire, and Herefordshire, and shows in the upper left-hand corner traces of the supporters of the royal arms, one of which is the Tudor dragon. In the left-hand bottom corner is a scroll bearing the name RIC. HYCKES. The border is missing in parts; what remains shows a figure of Hercules, with decorative figures, vases, etc., in the Renaissance style. The scale of the map is a large one, three inches to a mile, making the hanging 12 feet by 15 feet. Upon this map are the following quaint verses in the upper left-hand corner:—

"ON THIS SIDE WHICH THE SONNE DOTH WARME, WITH HIS DECLININGE BEAMES,
SEVERN AND TEME IN CHANNELS DEEPE, DOO RVN TOO ANCIENT STREMES,
THES MAKE THE NEIBORS PASTURE RICHE, THES VELD OF FRUIT GREAT STORE,
AND DO CONVAY THRO'OVT THE SHIRE, COMMODITIS MANY MORE."

And a little lower down:—

"HEARE HILLS DOO LIFT THEIR HEADS ALOFT, FROM WHENCE SWEET SPRINGS DOO FLOW,
WHOSE MOISTVR GOOD DOTH FIRTIL MAKE, THE VALLEIS COVCHT BELOWE.
HEAR GOODLY ORCHARDS PLANTED ARE, IN FRUITE WHICH DOO ABOVNDE,
THINE EY WOLD MAKE THIN HARTE REJOYCE, TO SEE SO PLEASANT GROVNDE."

The second Bodleian map, which is very much mutilated, sets forth the valley of the Thames, with the counties of Oxford, Berks., and Hants. Originally it measured 18 feet by 12½ feet. There is a small medallion on the border showing the map of Africa. An inscription upon a fragment of this map runs:—

"THIS . WORKE . THUS . WROVGHT . WITH . CVRIOUS . HAND . AND RARE INVENTED ARTE
IN STATELY VEWE GLOCESTERSHEIRE DESCRIBES IN EVERY PARTE
WHEN SAXONS HEARE POSSESTE THE RAIGNE GLEAVECESTER THEY IT NAME

AND BRITONS IT KAER GLOWYE CALL AND YF YOU LISTE THE SAME
IN NATIVE TONGE TO KNOWE ARIGHTE THVS MUCHE IT IS TO SAYE
A CITIE FAYER SOE CALD OF ELD WHOS BEWTIE TO THIS DAY
RIGHT WEL COMMENDES THE BRITISHE NAME THIS SHEIRE WHOS FERTILL SOYLE
OF CORN AND GRAYNE GREATE PLENTIE YELDS BY LABORS GAYNFULL TOYLE
IN THREEFOLD PARTES DEVIDED IS ON EASTE DOTH COTTESWOLD STAND
MOSTE FERTILL HILLES FOR SHEEP AND W . . . YRE NOT IN THIS LAND."

In the museum at York are three maps similar in character to those in the Bodleian. The earliest is inscribed, "Wignoriæ Comitatus locupelata Richard Hyckes," and measures 13 feet 2 inches by 19 feet, exclusive of a border of 15½ inches. It "bears the Sheldon arms without impalement at the top left corner, while in the corresponding space to the right are the arms of the county of Worcester."[1]

The second measures 13 feet high by 17 feet 3 inches wide, exclusive of a border 17 inches wide. It consists of part of the shires of Warwick, Derby, Gloucester, and Stafford, and in the right-hand corner are the royal arms of England with the garter, and lion and dragon supporters. "The arms on the left are those of Sheldon impaling Markham[2] with quarterings, while the map bears the date 1588."

This map bears the following inscription:—

"Warwickshire, so named as well of the Saxons as of us at this daye; it is divided in two parts by the river Avone ronning through the midest. The one is called Feldon, the other Woodland. The most memorable towns in the Feldons are Lemington, taking the name of the river Leame, where a salt well springeth. Ichinton and Harbury, betwene which two townes Fermandus the son of Kinge Offa was slayn—a man of singular vertue; and buried in his father's palace, called Ofchurch.

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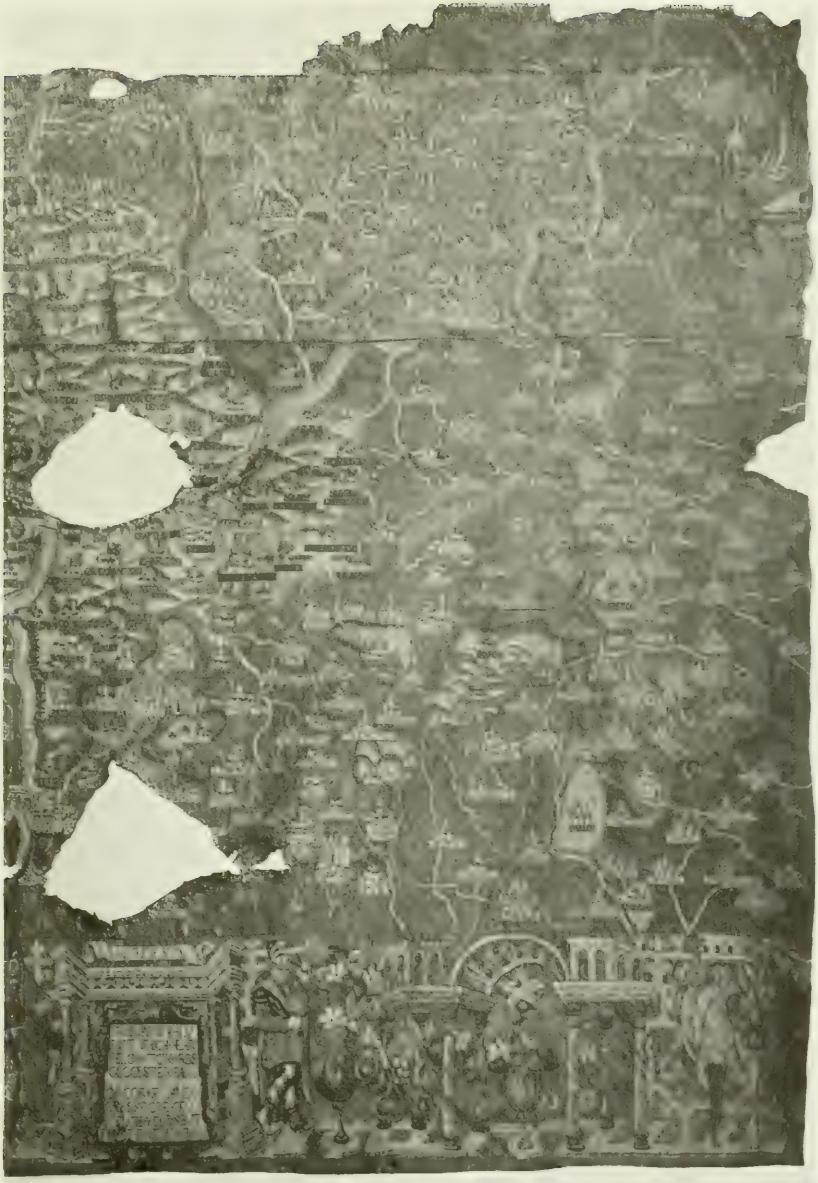
1 *History of Tapestry from the Earliest Times*, W. G. Thompson.
2 Edward Sheldon (died 1643) married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Markham.



Tapestry Map—Warwickshire Portion.

The Woodland being the north part, and the greater, was by an auncient name called Arden, which signifieth a wood. In the middle of this region standeth Coventre, so called of the Covente of Monks; a citie in times past populus and riche by the trade of clothing and making of cappes. Near Coventre on the east part is Calledon the auncient seat of the lorde Segrave from whom it descended to the Barons of Barkley by the Mowbraies dukes of Norfolk. Westward from Coventre standeth the castle of Kenilworth compassed about with a great pool, firste builded by Geoffrey Clinton, Chamberlayne to King Henre the first.

"About V miles from thence standeth Warwicke called by the Brittaines Caergaurvic which signifieth a place of defence, whear is a castle of great force builded by the Romanes. William the Conqueror ordayned XII burgesses in Warwicke to attende on him in his warres. Near unto Warwick is Guy's Cliffe a place of wonderful pleasure, whear Guye of Warwick builded a chappel and was there buried—Read W. Camden's Hist—description of Bri—."

The third map bears the title, "Oxonii et Bercheriae comitatus locupelati per Franciscum Hickes." "It is 13 feet by 17 feet 9 inches without the border, which is 20 inches wide. The armorial bearings are comparatively late, Sheldon impaling Rocksavage. Ralf Sheldon, of Beoley, married Henrietta, daughter of Viscount Rocksavage. This would bring the date of the map at about 1640, unless the arms have been added after it was woven." It is probable that, on the death of this Ralf Sheldon,[1] in 1684, the manufacture was discontinued.

The maps show a close acquaintance with the characteristic features of the counties of England. There is an attempt to make a distinction between churches possessing spires and those with towers only. "The beacons then existing are represented in these maps, as are also the several parks and bridges; and of the latter, those which are built with stone are distinguished from those which are of wood."[2] In one instance, where a hill has been levelled, the map adds to the name, "Whych was driven down by the removying of the ground."

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1 Ralf Sheldon (1623-1684) married Henrietta Maria, daughter of Thomas, Viscount Rocksavage.

2 Account by second Earl Harcourt, in the *Harcourt Papers*.

The maps remained at Weston, where three of them covered the sides of a gallery, until the house was pulled down. The maps were bought at the sale of Mr. Sheldon's effects in 1781 by Horace Walpole for thirty guineas; "very cheap indeed," he writes. Three of them he gave to Earl Harcourt,[1] who expressed an intention of building a Gothic tower at Nuneham "on purpose to receive that magnificent mark of the friendship of Mr. Walpole."

The "Gothic tower"[2] was never built; in its stead was added, in 1787, to the house the Tapestry Room, for the reception of the maps; and in the following year George III. invited himself to breakfast with Lord Harcourt. "This will enable me to pay due *Respect* to the *Venerable Tapestry*."[3]

Horace Walpole, *more suo*, gracefully undervaluing his gift, writes from Strawberry Hill, in 1787:—

"I am happy that the tapestry pleased your Lordship enough to bestow a room upon it—but surely so trifling and cheap a present, and so inadequate to the many valuable ones I have received from your Lordship could in no light merit an inscription! and to a name so insignificant as mine! and which will every day grow more obscure, or be remembered only by my follies."

Seven years afterwards, however, writing to Miss Agnes Berry (1794), he complains that her sister "forgot to ask to see the room with my tapestry," at Nuneham.

On the death of William, third and last Earl Harcourt, the large estates of the Harcourt family passed to his cousin, Edward Vernon, Archbishop of York, who took the surname of Harcourt in 1831, and who is said to have presented the three maps at Nuneham to the Philosophical Society in 1827; and at the present day they are in the

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1 Simon George, second Earl Harcourt.

2 It was to this proposed Gothic tower that Gough refers in his letter to Lord Harcourt, December 25th, 1783: "I congratulate your Lordship and the public on the possession of the Sheldon maps, and that the earliest memorial of two arts among us, Tapestry and Map-making, will at length find a Repository worthy of them, and which will hand them down in security to the latest posterity."—*Harcourt Papers.*

3 *Harcourt Papers.*

museum at York. The *Harcourt Papers* state that the maps "were transferred to York by a misconception," and that it was "George Granville Harcourt, whose bent of mind lay in the direction of the fine gentleman and politician," who "swept away in one day the work which had cost his uncle so many years of patient labour. He presented the maps to the Yorkshire Museum, where they have no particular fitness."

The history of the Bodleian maps is not known. Lady Marion Alford[1] states that they were given (by Earl Harcourt) to Gough,[2] the antiquary, who bequeathed them to the University of Oxford. Mr. Thomson, on the other hand, is of opinion that they "were probably bought at the sale at Strawberry Hill in 1842; one certainly was sold mounted as a screen." In the Strawberry Hill catalogue is entered "a folding mahogany screen, mounted with rare and curious specimens of ancient needlework, representing on the one side a coat of arms with wild boar beneath, and on the other a map of parts of Surrey and Middlesex, with Antony and Cleopatra beneath."

Some panels with figures have been attributed to the Sheldon manufactory, and "the treatment of the borders of the maps at York shows sufficient ability to produce works of a higher class." But the great success of Mortlake threw other weaving establishments of the seventeenth century into the shade, and there is, I believe, no piece of tapestry other than the maps that can with certainty be ascribed to the Barcheston looms. The late Sir Wollaston Franks attributed the tapestry, "Four Seasons," at Hatfield, to Sheldon's manufacture; and a specimen at Sutton Coldfield[3] has also been ascribed to

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1 *History of Needlework.*

2 Richard Gough, 1735-1809. By his will Gough gave the University of Oxford all his MSS., printed books and pamphlets, prints and drawings, maps and copper-plates relating to British topography.

3 The tapestry represents Esther and Ahasuerus. It measures about 8 ft. square, but the border, 15 in. wide, has been cut off at top and bottom.

it, chiefly on the ground that it was brought about 1657 from Castle Bromwich, which was built in the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign by Edward Devereux (who was a connection of the Sheldons), son of the first Viscount Hereford.

M. JOURDAIN.

EARLY WORKS OF ARCHITECTURE IN WARWICKSHIRE

WITH respect to its church architecture, Warwickshire cannot be said to hold a high position among the counties. This may be partly because of the poor quality of its building materials, the coarse, soft sandstones of which most of the churches are built being dull in colour, unsuited for finely-wrought details, and in every way far inferior to the beautiful oolites of Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire, Gloucester, and Somerset.

There are, nevertheless, some very fine churches—those of Coventry, Stratford-on-Avon, Brailes, and Tysoe being all of large dimensions, and of great architectural importance. The steeple of St. Michael's Church, Coventry, is almost of unrivalled beauty.

The attention of our ecclesiologists and antiquaries has of late been much directed to the remains we still have of buildings supposed to be of a date earlier than the Norman Conquest, and the excellent and convincing volumes of Professor G. Baldwin Brown on *Saxon Art in England*, lately published, have given a fresh impulse to researches in this direction. The subject is of fascinating interest, and well deserves all the attention it is receiving.

It does not come within the scope of this paper to describe the distinctive characteristics of the buildings of the Saxon period. The most prominent of them are now pretty well known; but I may just say the prevailing opinion that the presence of the peculiar kind of rough masonry called "herring-bone" is a conclusive proof of a

pre-Norman date is incorrect; diagonally laid courses of rubble work are occasionally found in walls of comparatively recent date when the stones are thin—though it must be conceded that where alleged Saxon work is of doubtful authenticity, herring-bone work may be accepted as valuable contributory evidence. There are in *Domesday Book* about three hundred Warwickshire places recorded, sixty of which are said to have priests or churches, but the former does not necessarily imply the latter.

At Tamworth is a very large and lofty mound, possibly partly natural, but artificially shaped into a steep truncated cone, on the top of which it is generally supposed the renowned Ethelfleda, daughter of Alfred the Great, rebuilt a castle which had previously been destroyed by the Danes. The *Saxon Chronicle* says:—

"A.D. 913. This year, by the permission of God, went Ethelfleda, Lady of Mercia, with all the Mercians to Tamworth, and built the fort there in the fore part of the summer."[1]

And here Ethelfleda died in A.D. 918.

The mound is now partially surrounded by a dry ditch, and the only direct means of reaching the plateau on which the castle stands is by a narrow and steeply-inclined path along the top of a thick parapet or wall, which crosses the moat and reaches the summit. The lower part of this wall is to a great extent constructed of very characteristic herring-bone masonry, which has a look of great antiquity.

Now, although it is probable the fortress built by the Queen was of timber, with outer concentric lines of stakes and wattle, it is more than likely this permanent means of approach was constructed at the same time.

But Tamworth had been a place of great importance from a much earlier period; the first record relating to it is in a charter of Offa, dated A.D. 781, granting certain lands to the monks of Worcester, in which occurs the following:—"Ego Offa Rex sedens in regalia Palacio in

1 Translation by the Rev. J. Ingram.

Tamworthige," etc. Charters of three other kings immediately following him are also dated from Tamworth. Whether this palace of Offa's stood upon the mound, and whether the mound itself was originally raised and formed by Ethelfleda, is uncertain. There are well-defined indications within the town of a bank and ditch, surrounding a considerable area, roughly rectangular, and still called the King's ditch. It is probable that within this enclosure was the earliest palace and town. This is mere conjecture, but these and some other traces of defensive works tend to confirm the tradition of the importance of the place during the Heptarchy. The town and surrounding district had been utterly wasted by the Danes before the advent of Ethelfleda, and after her were again destroyed by them. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* says:—

"In 1016 Knut proceeded to Warwickshire during the middle of the winter, and plundered therein and burnt and slew all that they met."

Dugdale says, after the Norman Conquest the castle was given to Robert Marmion, though the evidence on which he rests the statement is not conclusive; but either he or his son Roger, there can be no doubt, built an enclosing wall or shell keep on the mound, parts of which, including a narrow mural staircase to the ramparts, remain. There is also a small square tower on the line of the wall and projecting a few feet beyond it, the lower part of which is also Norman, though probably later than the great wall. There are, within and attached to the enclosure, small remains of buildings of the thirteenth century; but a large and lofty hall, and a number of rooms of less importance, are all of later date than the fifteenth century, some of the time of James I.

Leland says—

"The Castle of Tamworth standeth on a meetly high ground at the south part of the town hard upon the ripe of Anker, at the mouth of it. The base court and great ward is clean decayed, and the walls fallen down, and therein

be now but houses of office of no notable building. The donjon hill yet standeth, and a great round tower of stone wherein Mr. Ferrers dwelleth and now repaireth it."

At about four miles south of Tamworth on the top of a hill is Kingsbury, now an insignificant village, but said to have been a seat of one of the Mercian kings. Its name alone gives an air of probability to the tradition; and on the summit of the hill is a level area which strongly suggests that it may have been occupied by an enclosed settlement of some kind. Near the edge of a precipitous bank of the river Tame are remains of an old residence of the Bracebridges within a large court surrounded by a massive stone, embattled wall, and entered through a Tudor arched gateway. There are also slight remains of a stair turret, probably of the fifteenth century.

No doubt this was the site of an early fortress of some kind. Dugdale was of opinion that here Burtelphus resided, and to which he called a grand council of his prelates and nobles in A.D. 851. It was held in the time of Edward the Confessor by the Countess Godiva.

Offchurch was another important place in the times of the Heptarchy. Tradition says that it derives its name from Offa, that he had a palace here, and built the church. This is generally held to be probable, and the discovery of an extensive Saxon burial-ground some fifteen or twenty years ago at Offchurch Bury, the property of the Dowager Countess of Aylesford, tends very much to confirm the belief. The small part that was explored yielded brooches and other articles of female adornment of unquestionable Saxon workmanship, of a character similar to "finds" in many other burial-grounds of the period, and indicating by their costliness that the graves were those of persons of an upper rank of life.[1] These relics are preserved at

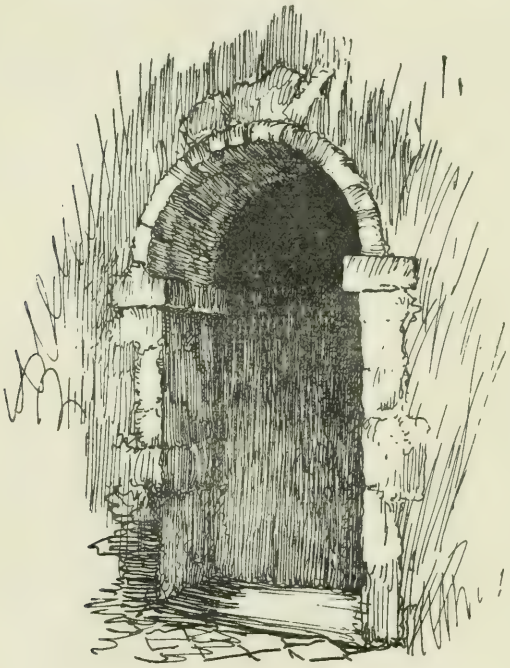
[1] Several other burial-grounds of the Saxon period have been found in Warwickshire—one near Beresford Bridge on the Watling Street in 1824—and numerous articles derived from them were collected by the late Mr. M. H. Bloxam, and are now in the Museum at Rugby School.

Offchurch Bury, where also may be seen several carved capitals of very early character, which were once incorporated in a porch of the existing house, but were removed during some alterations forty or fifty years ago, and are now in the garden. Opinions differ as to the age of these, but the writer believes them to be of great antiquity. Their general character and the rudely carved acanthus foliage with which they are ornamented are somewhat of Byzantine type, and remind one of representations of carved architectural details to be seen in illustrations to some Saxon manuscripts; but that they formed part of a Saxon palace, as some have supposed, is too daring a conjecture.

The church contains some few fragments of an early building, the most noticeable of which is a small semi-circular arched window, with the head cut out of one stone, on which a serpent is carved in low relief; but there are not sufficient reasons for ascribing the window to a date pre-Norman.

At Loxley, a picturesquely situated village, in the neighbourhood of which are extensive ancient defensive earthworks, is a church with some bits of herring-bone walling; some have, therefore, declared this to be a Saxon building, but, as has been already said, it is not a sufficient proof of such an origin. The only church in the county retaining any unquestionable remains of pre-Norman architecture is the very interesting church, of many periods, at Wooton Wawen. The village, though it is situated on a much frequented thoroughfare, and not very far from Birmingham, retains a considerable degree of rural simplicity. The road is one of several ancient ways that converged to the important ford across the Avon, now superseded by the celebrated Clopton Bridge at Stratford. Its name tells us that it was in the midst of woodlands, and the *Domesday Survey*, that Wagen, or Wawen, was the name of the owner of the place at the time of the Conquest. He was a man of great wealth and importance in his day,

but all his vast possessions in this and several other counties were confiscated by William, and given to Robert de Tonei, or de Stadford, who had come into England with the Conqueror, and greatly distinguished himself in the decisive battle against Harold.



WOOTON WAWEN CHURCH: SOUTH ARCH.

The church stands on a considerable eminence at about two hundred yards from the road, and has a very uncommon and unusually interesting appearance as seen from the highway. Near it, from the time of Henry II. to the dissolution of the monasteries, stood a small Benedictine Priory, and in a hollow, a little to the east of the church, was the manor house. These must have formed a very interesting group of buildings, of which it is not difficult

to form an approximately accurate mental picture, with its background of woods, and the Priory orchard and garden covering the western slope of the hill. Not a vestige of the buildings of the monastery remains, and the existing manor house is of the time of Charles II., although some outbuildings and a dovecote, of probably the early part of the seventeenth century, remain. There is also a large artificially formed lake and elaborately arranged fish stews, a part of which may have belonged to an earlier house.

The Saxon church was of cruciform plan, and had a narrow chancel in two divisions, the western of which occupied the existing space at the "crossing." The eastern part was probably not much longer than its width, and possibly had an apsidal termination. The tower is carried by four semi-circular arches of a very interesting character. The openings are narrow—the eastern, 4 feet 5 inches wide; the western, 6 feet 10 inches; and the northern and southern, each 4 feet 2 inches. The transepts are gone, and the arch on the north has been made into a window. The Saxon characteristics are strongly marked—the jambs faced with large flat stones on edge, with a bonder at mid-height; the arches narrow-rimmed and projecting slightly from the faces of the walls; and the imposts of rough, unsplayed blocks. The storey over is of the same date, and exhibits towards the nave, and externally on a part of the south side, quoins of "long and short" work. There is also an early doorway on the west side, now walled up. Within this chamber, now used by the ringers, are clear indications of small windows on three sides, all now closed; that on the west must have opened into the nave. This room was probably occupied by the Sacristan.[1]

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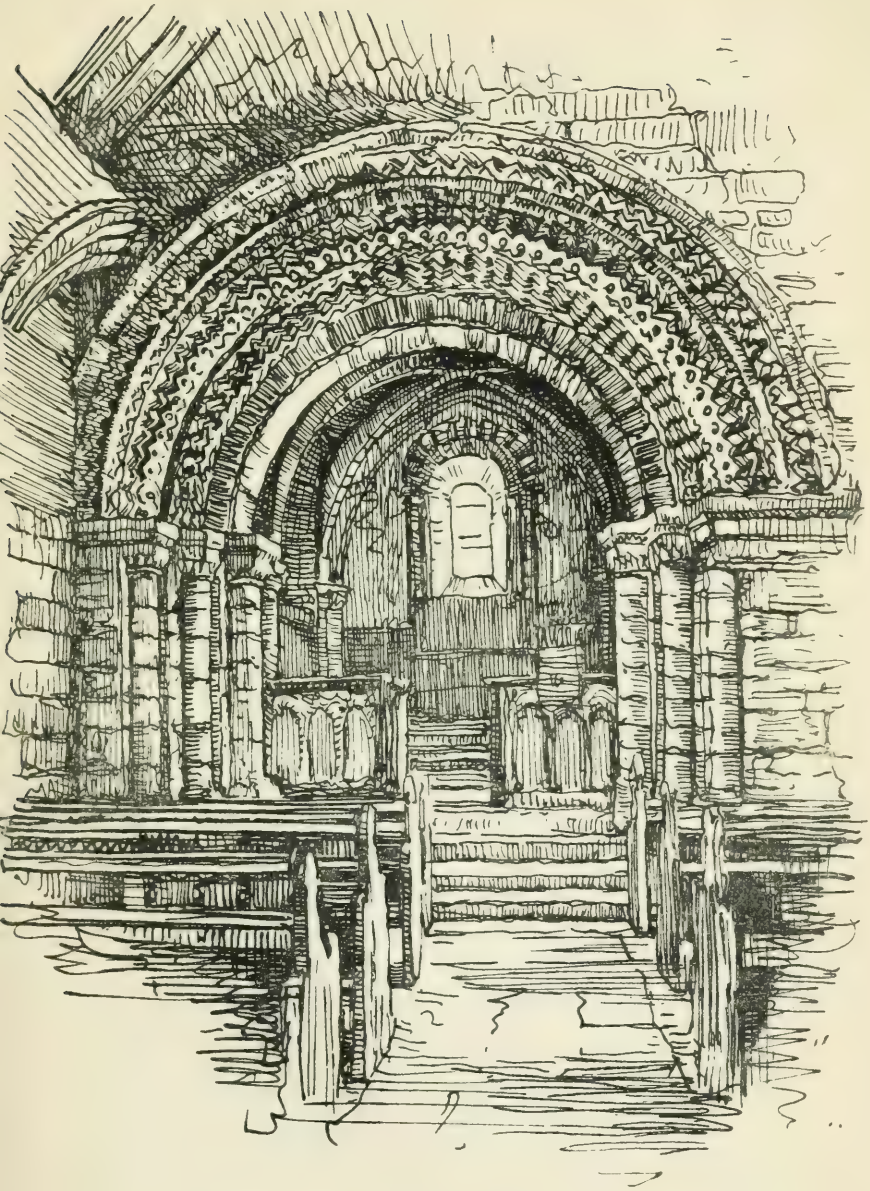
[1] See *Ecclesiastical Architecture in England from the Conversion of the Saxons to the Norman Conquest*, p. 168 *et seq.* (Prof. G. Baldwin Brown).

The north wall of the nave—although it must be admitted the indications are not conclusive—is probably a part of the original structure. It has a small window high in the wall, the head of which is cut out of a single stone. It is very slightly splayed on the exterior and widely on the interior, and it does not appear to have been prepared for glazing. There are slight remains of a narrow doorway of unusually lofty proportions, and near the base occur some well-defined courses of herring-bone work.

The lower part of the western wall may also be Saxon; it retains a blocked-up, square-headed doorway of rude construction, with a lintel externally, and a semi-circular arch on the inside. It may be fairly imagined that an entrance from the monastery was by way of this door.

The church, dedicated to St. Peter, was given very soon after the Conquest, by Robert de Tonei, to the Abbey of Conchas in Normandy, and in the time of Henry II. a cell of Benedictine monks was established here from the foreign monastery. It has been supposed by some that de Tonei, on coming into the great wealth of the unfortunate Wagen, built the church, but it is more generally thought, and is much more probable, that he found here a church which, as it had but very recently been erected, was in good condition. In *Domesday Book* Wooton is said to have had a church and two mills; one of these has survived and is at work to this day.

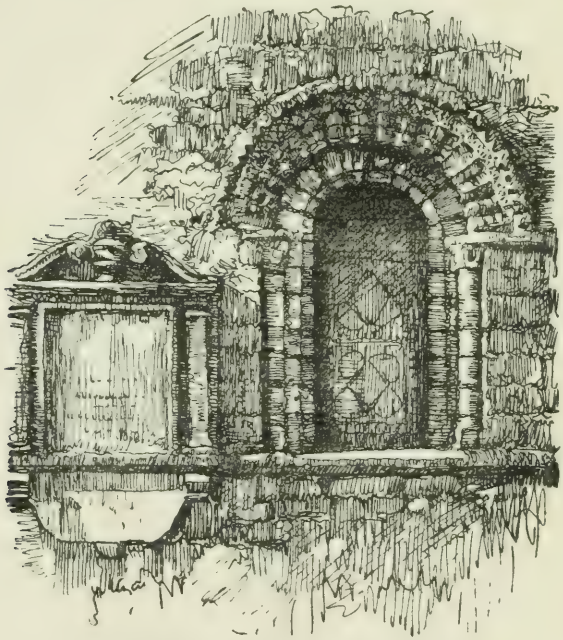
About two miles from Wooton Wawen is Beaudesert, a hamlet divided from Henley-in-Arden by a small brook. Here, in the little church, are the richest examples of Norman work to be found in the county. It stands on the lower slope of a small hill on which stood a fortress of some kind, built by Thurstan de Mountfort shortly after the Norman Conquest. It is by no means certain what was the precise nature of the fortress, though Dugdale says that "Thurstan de Montford finding the mount so capable of fortification, erected thereupon that strong castle, whereto by reason of its pleasant situation, the French



BEAUDESERT CHURCH : CHANCEL ARCH.

name, Beldesert, was given, which continued the chief seat of his descendants for divers ages." There is now nothing left but ditches and mounds.

The charming little church was, no doubt, built in the latter part of the twelfth century by one of the de Montfords. It is without aisles, and has a tower of the fifteenth century at the west end, with which exception it is nearly



BEAUDESERT CHURCH: EAST WINDOW.

all of Norman construction, the chancel arch and the head of the south doorway having many concentric courses of mouldings elaborately enriched by chevron and other carved ornaments. The east window is a gem, and of the same general character. The chancel is vaulted over, but, with the exception of the corbels and springers of the groin ribs, is of recent construction, though no doubt fulfilling accurately the intentions of the original designers.

In Berkswell Church the cross vaulting of the crypt and the arrangement of the supporting columns and corbels are of almost precisely the same description. This church retains what is on the whole the most valuable Norman work in Warwickshire, though the details are much more simple than in some others. Near the church is an ancient well, from which, no doubt, the place derives its name. In *Domesday* it is written Berchewell. The water boils up within a stone-walled tank about 16 feet square and 4 feet deep. There are reasons for supposing this to be an ancient baptistery, which may have been further enclosed, and even roofed over. Although the upper part of the existing parapet wall is modern, it is known to have been built on the ancient sub-structure. It is a significant fact that the church is dedicated to St. John the Baptist; and there can be no doubt that the existence of the remarkable well led to the foundation of the church, although there is nothing in the existing building that appears to be older than the twelfth century; but it possesses a remarkable crypt, a feature frequently found in churches of a Saxon origin.

The church has now a chancel, nave with north and south aisles, a late western tower, and a south porch of oak with a room over it, but the Norman fabric had no south aisle, and that on the north was but of two bays and very narrow.

Beneath the chancel and the western part of the nave is a very interesting crypt in two divisions. That under the nave is octagonal, and communicates with the eastern part under the chancel by a fine semi-circular arch springing from shafted jambs, with carved capitals, and is just beneath the chancel arch.[1] Both divisions are groined with stone, with flat, slightly chamfered groin ribs, which, in the octagonal part, spring from eight short columns, with carved capitals and moulded bases.

[1] The architectural features of this arch were exposed by cutting away brickwork by which it had been encased.

The rectangular part under the chancel is groined in a similar manner in two square bays, and has cross and diagonal ribs resting on dwarf columns and corbels. The capitals are of a very interesting character, and the bases are carefully wrought, with carved spurs on the corners of the square sub-bases. At the east end are clear indications that an altar once stood there. This part of the crypt is approached by two narrow and steep staircases, with doors from the nave, one on each side of the chancel arch, entering the crypt on opposite sides; this arrangement being nearly the same as is found in many very early crypts both here and on the Continent. Repton is an early and good example.

I have no doubt that this crypt was used for the exhibition of sacred relics, the two staircases serving, the one for ingress and the other for egress of those who came to visit the shrine. The relics that were preserved here must have been esteemed of great sanctity and importance, or such an expensive crypt would not have been built beneath this little out-of-the-way church. The sacred well and the relics would form a double attraction to the devout-minded.

The chancel is a particularly good and interesting example of Norman architecture, with some unusual features, a very striking one of which is in the employment of half-columns with capitals and bases at the north-east and south-east corners in place of buttresses of the usual kind.

The eastern triplet of good Norman windows, with two of smaller dimensions in the gable over, form an arrangement but rarely surviving, later windows having in nearly every instance supplanted the eastern windows of earlier date.

There are very fine corbel tables of small arches resting on grotesquely carved human heads on the north and south sides, where the shallow, flat buttresses, widened near the

ground to afford space for the small windows lighting the crypt, are also noteworthy features.

The arches of the nave arcade are formed of two courses of rectangular section springing from cylindrical pillars with scalloped capitals. The chancel arch is of the same general character, with double-shafted jambs.

The floor of the nave rises considerably in level from west to east to afford height to the part of the crypt which is beneath the eastern end of the nave.

The south doorway is Norman, with a curious massive door of much later date.[1]

In Bickenhill Church is an arcade of early Norman work, massive and rude, the section of the arches square and of but one course, the stones roughly hewn and with wide mortar joints. The stones forming the arches do not run right through the wall, but are treated as quoins, the intervening parts being of rough rubble work plastered. The capitals are very massive, and with a semblance of carving that is but little more than shallow surface scratches on the bell.

Polesworth Church once belonged to a nunnery, of the buildings of which it formed a part. It has an arcade of early character, with square sectioned arches, cylindrical pillars, and scalloped capitals, but the execution is much less rude than at Bickenhill. Dugdale says this was the first established religious house in all England, and gives a long account of the romantic and miraculous events attending its foundation in *Antiquities of Warwickshire*, from which the following abbreviated account has been taken:—

"King Egbert had an only son, a leper, and hearing that the then King of Connaught had a nun to his daughter called Modiven that healed all diseased persons repairing to her, sent his son, who was accordingly healed by this holy woman, which so pleased King Egbert that he invited Saint Modiven to come to England, promising that he would

1 For a full and copiously illustrated account of this church, see *Transactions of the Birmingham Archæological Society* for A.D. 1881.

found a monastery for her, which invitation she accepted and brought over with her two of her fellow nuns. Whereupon the King sent his daughter Edith to her to be instructed in religion after the rule of St. Benet, and soon after founded and endowed a monastery for them on the bank of the river Anker at this place of Polesworth, which monastery continued to her and her successors until the Norman Conquest, when Sir Robert Marmion of Tamworth having had the Castle there, and the territories round about bestowed upon him by the Conqueror, expelled the nuns from hence, but soon after this expulsion the said Robert Marmion, making a costly entertainment at Tamworth Castle for divers of his friends, it happened that as he lay in his bed, St. Edith appeared to him in the habit of a veiled nun, with a crozier in her hand, and advertised him that if he did not restore the Abbey of Polesworth unto her successors, he should have an evil death and go to hell. She then smote him upon the side with her crozier, and vanished away. Whereupon being much wounded and suffering grievous pain, he, at the advice of his friends, confessed himself to a priest, and made a vow to restore to those nuns their possessions, and his pains presently ceased. Whereupon he craved pardon of the nuns, and brought them back hither, desiring that himself and Sir Walter de Somervilles might be their patrons, and have burial for themselves and their heirs in this abbey viz: The Marmions in their Chapter house, and the Somervilles in their cloister."

The original clerestory of small windows is now included within the much later roof of the aisle. There is a decayed doorway that opened from the nave to the cloisters, and near the church, very interesting but much mutilated remains of the entrance gateway to the abbey precincts, all of early Norman character.

In the very charming little church at Corley are some good Norman details, and two very small windows which, with parts of the walls, may quite possibly be pre-Norman.

The south doorway is of tall proportions, and has a tympanum covered with an intricate diaper enrichment. There is an arcade of two arches between the nave and the north aisle of early Norman character, but obviously later than the aforesaid windows, for when the aisle was added the north wall was not pulled down, but openings were cut just big enough to receive the new masonry, by which process one of the earlier windows was curtailed of its lower

Bickenhill Church.

part only, so when the church was restored some years ago and the plaster hacked off, this fragment of the possibly Saxon window was revealed. There are other churches in the county with similar instances of the dexterity of the mediæval masons in neatly cutting through thick walls and inserting the arches of an arcade without disturbing the stonework beyond the line of the cutting. Among them Tysoe and Lapworth churches may be instanced, and in both the early clerestory windows are partially spared. The church has been restored and the nave lengthened.

Ansley Church, although very much added to and altered at various times, retains some very good Norman work. The chancel arch is unusually wide, and now much depressed. On one of the imposts, from which the inner course springs, is a grotesque carving of two monsters striving for the possession of a man who stands between them with apparent unconcern, although each of the animals has swallowed an arm. The conflict seems so far to be about equal. It probably is meant to symbolise the opposing influences of good and evil. In the north wall of the nave is a small recess within a semi-circular arch, on the sill of which, at about three feet from the floor, lies a stone coffin about two feet long. This was probably a heart shrine, or it may have held the viscera of an important person who died at some far-distant place. The north doorway is a very pleasing specimen of Norman work, though very simple; and what is unusual, it retains the original door and ornamental strap hinges.

Curdworth Church retains the greater part of the Norman walls and some very noteworthy details. The small chancel arch, in perfect condition, is a very good specimen, and during a recent restoration some of the original narrow windows were opened, and exposed on the wide inner splays very curious and well-drawn painted scroll enrichments of early character. The Norman font was also discovered buried beneath the floor of the church; it was

exhumed and remounted on the reversed bowl of the later font that had supplanted it. It is in fairly good preservation and completely covered with rude carvings, among which are a bishop holding a crozier and in the attitude of benediction, the instruments of the Passion, etc.

At Coleshill is one of the finest Norman fonts in the kingdom. Here, as in several other churches, the font is

CURDWORTH CHURCH : FONT.

the only surviving memorial of an early building. At Stoneleigh Church is a very fine example with a deep cylindrical bowl divided into twelve arched compartments containing figures of the apostles. This font is said to have been removed from Maxstoke, but it is hard to believe that it was not made for this church. The chancel arch is very fine, and on a scale of enrichment quite worthy of the

font. The tower arch and the north door are also excellent work of the twelfth century.

Of the 246 ancient churches in Warwickshire, eighty-one contain more or less of Norman work. The space at my disposal does not, therefore, enable me to notice all of them, even in the briefest way, so I will only add that at Cubbington and Kingsbury are good nave arcades; at Preston Bagot a very valuable simple specimen of a small aisleless church with rudely executed windows; at Wolstan unusually large and lofty arches carrying the central tower, with curious carving on the capitals, and an elaborately enriched north door; at Hartshill and Dosthill remains of small chapels; at Oxhill fine windows and corbel tables, and a curious font with carvings of Adam and Eve; at Holford Bridge a chancel arch, and two good doorways, one with a carved tympanum representing an angel carrying a scroll extended in both hands. At the deserted church at Alveston two tympanums of door arches, curiously carved, are all that remains of a Norman church.

JETHRO A. COSSINS.

THE SHIRLEYS OF ETTINGTON

"*A family not needing hyperboles.*"
—Sir Thomas Herbert's *Travels.*

THIS ancient house, "not needing hyperboles," holds an exalted position as one of the very few families whose pedigrees from the time of the Conqueror are clear and beyond dispute; though there is no proof that its first ancestors, in the words of Sir Thomas Shirley, the antiquary, "had the reputation and honour of a most ancient Saxon line, flourishing in opulence and dignity long before the Norman conquest."

Lower or Nether Ettington, one of the seats of the ancient family of Shirley, lies about midway between the Vale of Red Horse and the rich plains of Evesham. That it may claim to have been a place of some importance, even before the Conquest, is proved by the Roman remains which were found there, such as coins of the Lower Empire, brass ornaments, and a great quantity of broken pottery.

The earliest notice of the manor of Ettington appears in *Domesday Book*, when it is held by Saswalo, the first ascertained ancestor of the house of Shirley, "who have ever since retained possession of this their original inheritance," which is, as Gough says in his edition of *Camden*, "such an uninterrupted succession of owners for so many ages as we seldom meet with." Dugdale writes:—

"Of this Saswalo, whose name argues him to have been of the old English stock, as some think, I have not much to say, considering that we have so little light of History, and nothing of Record, for any other discovery, farther than the general survey above mentioned, and the registers of Abingdon and Kenelworth; the one of which testifieth that he gave the tithes of Hildeslie to the monks of Abingdon; and

the other that he founded the church here at Eatendon, for it plainly appears that he endowed it at its foundation; but I do conclude that he was an eminent person, forasmuch as he did not only possess this great lordship, but also Tichmersh in Northamptonshire, part of Witenai in Lincolnshire, and Hatun,[1] Hoga,[2] and Etewell, in Derbyshire."

From the greatness of his estate Dugdale concludes that he was "no less than a Thane in the Saxons' time." It will be noticed that Dugdale suggests Saswalo's Saxon origin very tentatively. It was not claimed by Mr. Evelyn Shirley in *Stemmata Shirleiana*, and modern authorities hold that the unfamiliar Saswalo is a form of a name, now represented by "Sewell,"[3] and was borne by foreigners, not by Englishmen; the name is absent in England before the Conquest.[4] "It is," writes Mr. Barron, "found easily enough the other side of the Channel. In Flanders, for example, the name is discovered twice amongst the castellans of Lisle."[5] Upon Saswalo's origin, however, we have no "light of history."

Sewall, or "Saswalo," was a sub-tenant of the house of Ferrers, under whom he held lands in six lordships. "It is doubtful," writes Mr. Round,[6] "whether in all England there exists another case of an under-tenant's manor so demonstrably descending in a male line unbroken. That this descent can be established is partly due to the fact that the holder of Eatington was an under-tenant on a very considerable scale. He held of Ferrers in Derbyshire, in Northamptonshire, and in Lincolnshire, as well as here, and his holdings were represented in 1166 by nine knight's fees. As there has been some misconception with regard to the origin of 'Saswalo,' we may here explain

1 Hatton, in the parish of Marston-on-Dove.

2 Now called and written Hoon.

3 In a Charter of Earl Robert Ferrers, grandson of the *Domesday* Ferrers, Saswalo appears as Sewallus.—*Victoria County History of Derbyshire*, vol. i.; Introduction to *Domesday*, J. Horace Round.

4 *Victoria County History of Warwickshire*, vol. i.; Introduction to *Domesday*, J. Horace Round.

5 *The Ancestor*, No. 3, October, 1902, "Our Oldest Families—III., The Shirleys," Oswald Barron.

6 *Victoria County History of Warwickshire*, vol. i.; Introduction to *Domesday*, J. Horace Round.

that there were certainly two (and possibly four) bearers of the name in *Domesday*. The one who held in Oxfordshire and Berkshire, under Geoffrey de Mandeville, was represented by Sewale de Oseville in 1166, and probably bore that surname. Our Warwickshire 'Saswalo' was then represented by 'Sewaldus.'"[1]

Henry, the son of Saswalo, by the consent of Robert, Earl Ferrers, gave the church of "Eatendon" to the monks of Kenilworth "for the good estate of the said Earl, his wife, and sons, as also for the remission of his own sins, and the souls' healths of his ancestors, successors, parents, and friends." This Henry was succeeded by his nephew Henry, son of his brother Fulcher. There is extant a settlement between this second Henry[2] and his younger brother Sewallis, by which Henry sold his birthright to his younger brother.

It was this Sewallis who was the first of the family to be called de Scyrle or Shirley, from Shirley in Derbyshire, where a grant of land had been made to his father, Fulcher. Sewallis was succeeded at Ettington by his son Henry, who founded a chantry, dedicated to St. Nicholas, in the church of Ettington, whose son, Sir Sewallis de Etington, or Ethendon, as it is spelt on his great seal, went to the Crusades. Sir Sewallis' son and heir, Sir James, it appears, had to petition the king for the restitution of his manor of Ettington, unjustly detained from him by his son Ralph, "who," the petition set forth, "had kept possession thereof for two years, and then, to the damage of £60, had pulled down and sold the manor house or castle (le chateau), and sold the goods found on the same against the will of the aforesaid James, and had the cattle driven into another country and fold, according to his, the aforesaid Ralph's, will, while James his father was afar off."

1 Or "Sawaldus."—*Red Book*, 336.

2 From Henry is descended that branch of the family who soon after this time took the name of Ireton, from the Manor of Little Ireton, in Derbyshire.

Sir Ralph is remarkable as the first knight of the shire returned for the county of Warwick to the Parliament which met at Westminster on the 13th of November, in the twenty-third year of Edward I. (1294). According to Sir Thomas Shirley, Sir Ralph was knighted at the battle of Falkirk (1298), "where he did wonders, to the admiration and astonishment of the beholders." He died in 1327, and was buried with Margaret Waldershef, his wife, a great Derbyshire heiress, under an altar tomb in the south transept of the old church at Ettington. Their effigies, restored by the late Evelyn Philip Shirley, remain in the family mortuary chapel. Sir Hugh, grandson of Sir Ralph, fell fighting for his king in the battle of Shrewsbury, 1403, and according to some historians, was one of the four knights[1] who, personating the king, encountered a Douglas in single combat, and were slain by him. In Douglas's speech to the king, in the first part of *King Henry IV.*, he exclaims:—

> "Another king! they grow like Hydra's heads:
> I am the Douglas, fatal to all those
> That wear those colours on them—What art thou,
> That counterfeit'st the person of a king?"

Prince Henry, who finally overcomes Douglas, warns him that—

> "The Spirits of valiant Shirley, Stafford, Blount, are in my arms."

Ralph, son and heir of Sir Hugh, served under Henry V. in the wars of France, and was present at the siege of Harfleur, but was prevented by sickness from taking command of his "retinue, which consisted of eight esquires and eighteen archers, at the battle of Agincourt. In 1420 he served the office of sheriff for the counties of Nottingham and Derby, residing at his manor of Radcliffe-upon-Sore, in Nottinghamshire. Sir Ralph's son by his first wife, marrying the heiress of Staunton, of Staunton Harold,

1 "Sir Walter Blounte and . . . three other, aparelled in ye Kynges suite and clothyng" (Hall).

in Leicestershire,"[1] removed his seat and residence there, and it has ever since continued the principal mansion of the elder line of the family, represented by the Earls Ferrers. "John, the elder son of Ralph Shirley, was father of another Sir Ralph, who in the year 1509 leased the manor of Eatington to John and Agnes Underhill, for a term of 80 years." His son, Francis, made a fresh lease for a term of 100 years to the same family, in 1541, and by so doing caused a succession of lawsuits between the two families, which were not finally concluded even when the lease came to an end in 1641. During Francis Shirley's time the manor house may have been rebuilt, or at least modernised, by them. Francis Shirley himself (according to Sir Thomas Shirley the antiquary, his great grandson, a great lover of learning),

". . . Gave himself wholely to deeds of ardent charity, ample alms, and most free and noble hospitality; he died in the fourteenth year of Queen Elizabeth. . . . His body being taken up above twenty years after his decease for the removing his Monument unto a more convenient place, was found as firm and entire as if it had been new buried, and as well endured to be wound in a new winding sheet, having only a black little bruise on the top of the great toe, caused by the pressure of his first coffin, but even this place not corrupted, as some yet alive that were present can testify; which is no small sign of his sanctity."

The lease of Ettington came to an end in the lifetime of Sir Charles Shirley, who entered into possession of all his lands about Lady-day, 1642. "From this period the Shirley family occasionally visited the place, some rooms being reserved for their residence in the leases, which were granted by Sir Robert Shirley, the brother and heir of Sir Charles; and his son and heir, Sir Robert."

The Sir Robert Shirley born 1629, and called "the good" Sir Robert, was the son of Sir Henry by the Lady Dorothy Devereux, daughter of the Robert Earl of Essex, Queen Elizabeth's favourite, and co-heiress with her sister

1 *Lower Eatington, its Manor House and Church.*—E. P. Shirley.

of the large English and Irish estates of her brother, the third Earl of Essex, the Parliamentary general. Sir Robert was a zealous adherent to the cause of his sovereign, King Charles I., and to the Church of England. He rebuilt the church at Staunton Harold dedicated to the Holy Trinity, in place of the old and ruinous chapel formerly existing there, and by so doing made himself obnoxious to the usurping powers "that it being told them Sir Robert had built a church, they directed an order in council to him to fit out a ship, saying, 'He that could afford to build a church, could no doubt afford to equip a ship.'" Notwithstanding the declaration of Cromwell and his council which made it penal for any persons to keep in their houses any of the sequestered ministers as chaplains or tutors, Staunton Harold continued to be an asylum to many of the distressed divines. Sir Robert Shirley's early death, which took place in the Tower, November 28th, 1656, "not without suspicion of poison," is involved in some obscurity. He was then, for the seventh time, undergoing imprisonment for the sake of his religion and loyalty. According to Smith's obituary, he died of the smallpox. At his funeral a sermon was preached by Dr. Sheldon, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, from the text, "He loved our country, and built us a synagogue." He was succeeded by his son, Sir Seymour Shirley, on whose death the estates passed to his brother, Sir Robert, in whose favour King Charles II., in 1677, terminated the abeyance of the old barony of Ferrers of Chartley, and called him to the House of Peers, as Baron Ferrers of Chartley, in right of his grandmother, the Lady Dorothy Devereux. In 1711 he was created by Queen Anne Earl Ferrers and Viscount Tamworth. "It was this Robert, Earl Ferrers, who alienated the estate of Ettington from the elder line of the family, entailing it upon his eldest surviving son by his second marriage."[1] His character is given in Macky's

[1] *Lower Eatington, its Manor House and Church.*

Memoirs of the Court of Great Britain as "a very honest man, a lover of his country, a great improver of gardening and parking; a keen sportsman; never was yet in business, but is very capable; a tall fair man towards sixty years old."

His daughter, Lady Frances Shirley, was born in 1707, and was celebrated at the court of George the Second for her beauty and her talents. Pope addressed complimentary verses to her. "His priestly editor, Warburton," remarks Lord Dover, also condescends to praise her "as a lady whose great merit Mr. Pope took a real pleasure in celebrating."

A great intimacy subsisted for many years between Lady Frances and the celebrated Lord Chesterfield, and the verses composed by his lordship to her honour are well known.

Lady Frances is mentioned by Horace Walpole in the *Twickenham Register*, about 1758, as residing there, and occupied in a life of devotion; she died unmarried in 1778.

There are many paintings and miniatures of the beautiful Lady Frances, one by Sir Godfrey Kneller in the Turkish costume introduced into England by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu.

Though their connection with the Shirleys of Ettington is remote, we must not omit to mention also the three gallant sons of Sir Thomas Sherley, of Wiston, in Sussex, a younger branch of the house of Ettington—"this leesh of Bretheren," as described by old Fuller. Their biography has been collected under the title of *The Three Brothers, or the Travels and Adventures of Sir Anthony, Sir Robert, and Sir Thomas in Persia, Russia, Turkey, and Spain, during the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and James I.* Mr. Evelyn Philip Shirley wrote, in 1848, a paper for the Roxburgh Club called "The Sherley Brothers" (the Sussex branch of the family spelt the name thus), the materials for which were principally drawn from intercepted letters in the State Paper Office.

The family of Shirley has had the good fortune to have been illustrated by an historical narrative, compiled by a distinguished member of its own house, Sir Thomas Shirley the antiquary, born 1590.

The very ancient manor house at Ettington Sir Thomas Shirley describes has suffered many changes; it has been suggested that it may have been rebuilt, or modernised, after the Underhills' tenancy; and finally it underwent alterations at the hands of its owners both in the eighteenth and in the nineteenth centuries. It should be remembered that Ettington remained the principal seat of the family only until the end of the reign of Edward II., though it continued an occasional residence of its owners until a much later period.

The Harleian Collection[1] contains four of Sir Thomas Shirley's works. Of these the third is perhaps the most curious, and is entitled—*The Genealogicke Historie of the House of Shirleys, Lords of Etingdon, Shirley, Hoga, Ednesour, Staunton Harold, Ragdale, Brailesford, Astwell, and divers other places, justified by Charters of divers Churches, publicke Records of the Kings of Arms, private Evidences, and other goode and certaine profes, inriched with divers figures and discourses of antiquitie, by Thomastos Cololeimon, Philopatron.*

The introduction forms the first chapter of the first book of the manuscript, and is headed "The Prerogatives and Excellencies of the House of Shirley." The second chapter is entitled, "On the Names of this renowned family and their Etimologies."

In our own times Mr. Evelyn Philip Shirley, the grandfather of the present proprietor, an accomplished archæologist, wrote an able memoir of his house, under the title of *Stemmata Shirleiana*, from which much of the information here given is derived.

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1 Nos. 4023, 4028, 4928, 6680.

Sir Thomas Shirley the antiquary's description of the town and manor house of Ettington is as follows:—

"There are divers marks in this towne, by which we may judge that it hath been from all antiquitie the seat of a noble and renowned family, etc.

"It hath a very ancient Church sumptuously built and dedicated to the honour of the blessed Trinity, and close by is a very ancient Manor House built by an ancestor of this family so long ago that the memorie by the revolution of so many ages is utterly lost and forgotten; for the antient forme and structure of the house is a witness beyond all exception of its pristine antiquity, it being covered with so unknown a covering that none can tell with what it is made with, plainly sheweth it was built in so antient times that the very stuff itself whereof the texture was made is, many ages since, not only worn out of the kingdom, but also the very knowledge that ever any such thing was within the realm."

There is every reason to believe that the house was covered with Stonesfield "slate," formerly much used in the neighbourhood before Welsh or Westmoreland slates were introduced; and as these Oxfordshire "slates" or thin limestones were not known in Leicestershire, Sir Thomas remarked on "so unknown a covering."

No part appears to be of older date than the period of Elizabeth, and as we know that extensive repairs were undertaken by Sir Charles Shirley on the termination of a long lease to the Underhill family in 1641, we may conclude that the greater part of this venerable house described by Sir Thomas was taken down and a smaller one erected with the materials. About 1740, and again in 1767, additions were made by the Hon. George Shirley. His grandson, Evelyn John Shirley, made some further alterations in the year 1824, and finally in 1858-62, his son, Evelyn Philip Shirley, cased and roofed the house in "the advanced Early English style." On fourteen panels in different parts of the exterior of the house are subjects carved in stone illustrative of the family history, from the foundation of the church at Ettington by Saswalo to the committal of good Sir Robert to the Tower, in consequence of his loyalty to his church and king.

The Old Church, Lower Ettington.

In the interior of the house there is less change; the entrance to the dining-room, by a depressed Tudor arch (restored), is part of the more ancient house, and the ceiling belongs to the alterations (about 1740) of the Hon. George Shirley.

Opposite the dining-room is the library, formerly the entrance hall, built in 1740, and remodelled and made into a "Gothic" library in the early nineteenth century. The great drawing-room was another of the Hon. George Shirley's additions to the house in 1767.

That a church was founded and endowed here by the Saswalo of the *Domesday* we know by the register of Kenilworth Priory. Some remains of this building still exist,[1] though the tower and body of the ancient church are of later date, having been rebuilt about the end of the twelfth century, when the Norman semi-circular arches were united with the pointed style. This is well exemplified in the windows of the tower of this church. At this period, St. Thomas à Becket was adopted as the patron saint, and the village wake is still kept on his day. The only portion of the building which now remains with a roof is the south transept, which has been restored and converted into a mortuary chapel, and the windows filled in with stained glass from William of Wykeham's chapel at Winchester. From the account of the church given by Sir Simon Archer (1639) it appears that there were at that time at least one curious and ancient monument, which has since disappeared. He mentions, "under an arch on the north side of the body of the church is a raised monument with the statue of a man on it. The stone and statue is grown very black with the moisture of the place." This may possibly have been that of the founder of the chapel of St. Nicholas, Henry, the son of Sewallis, in the reign of King John. There still exists a piscina marking the site of an altar. Sir Simon Archer also records some verses to the memory

1 *Lower Eatington, its Manor House and Church.*

of Anthony Underhill, who died in 1587, while residing at Nether Ettington Manor House, which have been without any evidence ascribed to Shakespeare. They were painted on a wooden tablet and afterwards lost, but have been restored. The last couplet, commencing—

"As dreams doe slyde, as bubbles rise and fall,"

is fairly well known.

The southern transept also contains a fine monument to the first Earl Ferrers, who died 1717, and memorials to many members of the ancient house of Shirley.[1]

R. O. D.

[1] By an Act of Parliament in 1791 the Parish Church was moved to a site in Upper Ettington, where it was rebuilt, principally at the expense of Evelyn Shirley. At this time a large portion of the ancient church was taken down, the south transept, the burial-place of the family, being the only part which remained with a roof. It was repaired, together with the tower, by the Evelyn John Shirley who, in 1825, restored and converted the transept into a chapel.—*Lower Eatington, its Manor House and Church.*

ON THE MONUMENTS AND EFFIGIES IN ST. MARY'S CHURCH AND THE BEAUCHAMP CHAPEL, WARWICK

WHEN we consider the greatness and the dignity of the ancient house of Warwick, passing for more than four centuries through the lines of Newburgh, Plessitis, Mauduit, Beauchamp, Nevill, and Plantagenet, and come to Warwick to look for their tombs, we are at once reminded of the famous speech of Lord Chief Justice Crewe: "Time hath his revolutions, there must be a period and end to all temporal things, *finis rerum*, an end of names and dignities, and whatsoever is terrene, and why not of De Vere? For where is Bohun? Where is Mowbray? Where is Mortimer? Nay, what is more, and most of all—where is Plantagenet?" Lord Crewe said of Vere of Oxford, "no king in Christendom hath such a subject," and, like Oxford, the house of Warwick rose through a series of great men, and, in the time of the Beauchamps, and particularly the Nevills, to such a pitch that they became at last too great for subjects, and after giving a succession of earls for upwards of four hundred years the ancient house fell at last, as it were, by its own weight.

But we have "come to bury Cæsar, not to praise him"; to talk not of honours and pedigrees, but "of graves, of worms, and epitaphs," and provoke the tombs and silent dust to render up an account.

This being the case, the question at once presents itself—how is it that with so long a succession of great men here we find so comparatively few of their monuments, even of cadets? Many circumstances have contributed to bring this about. Chief among them are—the rebuilding of the choir in the time of Edward III.; the transference, to a great extent, of the principal place of sepulture to Tewkesbury, owing to the marriage of Richard de Beauchamp with the heiress of Despencer; and the disastrous fire of 1694.

In the former case we have it on the authority of Rous, who lived from 1411 to 1491, and must certainly have known persons who saw the rebuilding, that the monument of Thomas de Newburgh, who died in 1242, sixth Earl of Warwick, and divers more of his ancestors, were removed when the choir was rebuilt, and never set up again. Probably Thomas de Beauchamp, the builder, had little idea who were here commemorated, and it was no uncommon way of dealing with ancient monuments in the Middle Ages, particularly when a new fabric had to be raised. This ill-treatment of monuments has descended to our own time, but with a difference. It will be remembered that when Henry VI. went to the Abbey to fix the spot for his own grave, it was proposed to him, with the same reckless disregard for antiquity which marked those times, to move the tomb of Eleanor to make room for him; but the king said he "could in no wise do it." He asked, with strange ignorance, the names of the kings among whose tombs he stood. It was then suggested that the monument of his father, Henry V., should be pushed aside, to which he answered, "Nay, let him alone, he lyeth like a noble prince; I would not trouble him." And finally it was settled—"forsooth and forsooth, here will we lie! here is a good place for us." He never came to it.

We may be sure that no such piety troubled Thomas de Beauchamp. He was a man of action, one of the

warriors of Crecy and Poitiers; so the monuments of the Norman Newburghs were swept away to make room for the new choir which arose at his bidding, and in the midst of it he and his countess still "sleep in dull, cold marble." There probably may have been some monuments of the Beauchamp family here which were wiped out by the rebuilding of the choir, but their burials are not recorded. We know that the Plessitis and Mauduit earls rest, the one at Missenden, 1262, and the other at Westminster, 1267. The marriage of Isabel, sister of William Mauduit, and eventually Countess of Warwick in her own right, with William de Beauchamp, first brings that family here. William died in 1269, and his son of the same name, who first bore the cross-crosslets, in 1298, and both are buried at the Friars Minors, Worcester. Guy, the son of the last-named—Gaveston's "Black Hound of Arden," who died in 1315—lies at Bordesley, and his son was Thomas de Beauchamp—died 1369—the builder of the choir, who succeeded him at the age of two years, and whose monument we will now proceed to notice.

The whole memorial is of alabaster, but not of the very purest kind. The earliest instance of the use of this material for a monument is the effigy of John de Hanbury, at Hanbury, in Staffordshire, about 1300. The first alabaster monuments of importance are the tombs and effigies of Edward II. at Gloucester, who was murdered under shocking circumstances at Berkeley Castle in 1327; and that of John of Eltham in Westminster Abbey, who died in 1334. From this time onwards the material gradually deteriorated from spotless white to the veined and stained stones of which effigies and monuments were made in the Jacobean time, and, in short, until the material, on account of its utter unfitness for the purpose, was entirely given up for effigies at the advent of Nicholas Stone, who always used marble for his

beautiful figures. There are two from his hand in Stoneleigh Church. Certainly the old men did the best they could with the material, and concealed its defects more and more completely by painting the figures to the life, as well as the tombs. Countless monuments show this practice. At the present day the strange appreciation of an unsightly material for its own sake has brought about the re-use of alabaster, which has such a disquieting influence, and plays so large a part in modern restoration.

A few indentures of agreement for making monuments have come down to us, and they are valuable in more ways than one. It must be remembered that monumental effigies were not portrait statues, but were conventional representations, made in workshops where the material was found, and kept in stock ready for delivery. It was the natural result of the artistic circumstances of the Middle Ages. Thus, the Purbeck effigies came from the quarries near Corfe, and were sent to all parts of England, the different types being easily recognizable. The alabaster effigies came, of course, in like manner from Derbyshire, and the different workshops and dates are easily traced by the conventional figures and countenances. Similarly, countless freestone figures emanated from stone-bearing districts, and even from small village "cementarii," where stone convenient for the purpose existed. Only in very important cases was portraiture intended or attempted, and for such works, no doubt, blocks of stone were sent to London. And similarly of the wooden effigies, which, as works of high artistic order, could only be carried out in great art centres such as London, York, Gloucester, etc. It was, indeed, not until the end of the fifteenth century that portraiture in monumental effigies began to be attempted, and what is said about stone figures applies equally to engraved brass plates.

The indentures tell us where the sculptors, "kervers"

or "marblers" worked; they give us the prices, and are full of curious information concerning sculptural and architectural terms that would long ago have passed into oblivion but for these particular records.

Alabaster was worked in the Middle Ages, and later, at Hartshorne, Chellaston, Burton-on-Trent, and Tutbury, and by the "alablaster men" of Nottingham, and an enormous number of monuments must have been produced, for we meet with them everywhere. It was used alike for kings and commoners; large numbers have been destroyed, and, as evidence of the favour in which it was held on the Continent, we find English workmen taking over to Nantes the alabaster effigy of John, Duke of Brittany, under a safe-conduct from Henry IV., and setting it up in Nantes Cathedral in 1408. It may be convenient to note the distinction between the true alabaster of the ancients, a carbonate of lime, and the gypseous English alabaster, a sulphate of lime. The former is hard, and the latter quite easily worked.

The monument of Thomas de Beauchamp consists of an altar tomb with panelled sides, containing thirty-six "weepers" standing in niches under simple canopies, or, as they were called, "hovels," a word used now in quite a different sense. The tomb sustains the effigies of Beauchamp and his wife Catherine. Earl Thomas is shown in a suit of armour, well known to us by the monuments and brasses of the last quarter of the fourteenth and the first of the fifteenth centuries. That is to say, generally, he wears a bascinet, a camail, épaulières, brassarts, coudières, avant-bras, a jupon, a baudric, a mail hauberk, cuisses, jambes, and sollerets. These are the usual names by which the military equipments of the time were known, and on examining the harness more closely, we at once infer that it represents a special suit, no doubt copied from Beauchamp's own armour, and we gather from the shape of the bascinet that this form of

headpiece had only lately grown out of those of the rounder type of an earlier period, it being necessary to bear in mind that armour, like architecture, never stood still, but, like the great science, was ever progressing, and in a state of transition from one style to another, the amount of change depending more or less upon the political and military events of the time. How complete the change was in the space of three-quarters of a century may be more fully realized on comparing the effigy of Thomas Beauchamp, who died in 1369, with that of "Brass Beauchamp," who "deceased full Christianly" in 1439, and with whom we will deal presently.

Taken alone—such was the accuracy with which sculptors copied actual armour—the bascinet of Thomas de Beauchamp would, in the hands of an expert, date the figure within five years, and from it and other details we judge that the effigy was made in the Earl's lifetime, and just before his last expedition into France. Special points in the armour help us to this conclusion—the demi-brassarts, sprung on and not hinged as in later times, showing the fine quality of the metal, and strapped over the mail sleeves of the hauberk; the details of the baudric; the particular forms and small articulations of the elbow and knee pieces, and further evidences that need not be gone into now. It is a very accurate reflection of a fine suit, and it is the more worthy of study because the rarity of actual armour of this time is perhaps not sufficiently recognized. Here and there we get an isolated bascinet, an imperfect camail, or a coute; but of complete suits of this period, in their integrity, no single example exists. The nearest approach we have to such a thing are the priceless relics at Canterbury, the shield, the sword sheath, the helm, the jupon, and the gauntlets of the Black Prince.

With regard to the effigy of the lady, it offers nothing very remarkable in the way of costume. She is habited in a close-fitting kirtle with tight sleeves reaching

halfway over the back of the hand, in the very usual fourteenth-century way, and closely fastened to the elbows with Oriental profusion by a multitude of little buttons, which must have been a sad exasperating work to do up. This comfortless garment is laced up the front and cut low in the neck, and could have nothing at all to recommend save the plea of fashion, which was, of course, everything. Round the hips is a picturesque girdle buckled on the left side and studded with roses. Under the chin is worn a small wimple—they were just now dying out—and on the head we find one of the numerous variety of head-dresses of the fourteenth century, more singular than beautiful. No hair is shown, but a mass of small pleated work surrounds the face and is kept in form by a veil, or handkerchief, lightly passed over it, and of which the ends hang down. This head had a long course; it was warm and comfortable, and reappeared, long after, in a slightly altered form in the caps of our own grandmothers.

The Earl has gallantly taken off his right gauntlet, and holds the lady's right hand. There are some other instances of this fashion in effigies, and it also occurs in brasses, all between 1370 and 1420. There is reason to believe that the monument is the work of Robert Sutton and Thomas Prentys, carvers, of Chellaston, in Derbyshire, who made the monument of Ralph Greene at Lowick, in Northamptonshire, the agreement for which has been preserved for us in one of the rarest of printed books, *Halstead's Genealogies*. Thomas de Beauchamp also appears among the goodly company of eight warriors surrounding the brass of Sir Hugh Hastings at Elsing, Norfolk—died 1347. In this memorial he is shown in the earlier military costume of the time.

Concerning the array of thirty-six weepers round the tomb, they are all in civil costume, the ladies wearing heads like the paramount figure. They form a most valuable series, and perhaps no monument, save that at

Earls Colne to Richard and Lancerona de Vere, with its twenty-four weepers, gives so much variety of lay costume. This latter monument seems also to be from the hand of the Chellaston artists, and several others may be identified.

Now, a few words as to the manner of the interment of Thomas de Beauchamp and his wife. It was the custom in early times to wash and salt the dead body, to wrap it in an ox hide, which in special cases was gilt, carry it on a bier, and lay it in a stone coffin. These were usually set level with the pavement of the church, a heavy lid laid thereon, and carved either with a cross or the effigy of the deceased. King John was so interred, but in his Royal robes, and on his head the Monk's cowl, the passport through Purgatory—

> "And they who to be sure of Paradise,
> Dying put on the weeds of Dominic,
> Or in Franciscan thought to pass disguised."

And for further security against the Evil One, the coffin was placed in Worcester Cathedral between the sainted bodies of Oswald and Wulstan, a wise precaution for the worst, if the ablest, of the Angevins.

Out of this pavement burial the altar tomb gradually grew, the stone coffin, by the same degrees, being superseded by those of lead, and of wood with angular-shaped or flat lids. The lower orders were buried without coffins—"buried on a board," as it was termed—but enveloped in a shroud, drawn together and tied about the head and feet; and this practice, which necessitated the use of a bier to bear the carcass on its board to the grave, continued until the time of Charles II., when the enactments in the 18th and 30th of his reign, for burial in woollen cloth, somewhat altered the mode of laying out, and brought in the use of wooden coffins for all classes. It must be remembered that the bodies of important persons were not commonly placed below in vaults until after the Civil Wars, and by the end of the

Beauchamp Chapel, looking East.

fourteenth century the rude process of salting and wrapping in leather had necessarily developed into the important and complete art of embalming. The process now was to wash, bowel, anoint, and saturate the body with preservative balsams and aromatics. It was then closely wrapped in cere-cloths, "cered," hence the word cerements; habited in robes of state, "apparelled"—never in armour, which was far too valuable to bury away; placed in a leaden coffin, "leaded," and finally "cofred," "chested" or coffined in wood; this outer case, at the particular time of which we are speaking, was usually covered with velvet with a white cross on the lid in damask from end to end. This was then carried to the church with most picturesque and solemn funeral rites, as may still be seen in their fulness in Italy, and placed beneath the great herse set up for the purpose; this will be spoken of again later on. Here the coffin remained until the time arrived to place it in the tomb prepared for it.

The above is a general outline of what must have taken place at the death of Thomas de Beauchamp, and it would not be difficult to conjure up all the actors, the armour, the vestments, the costume, "the trappings and the suits of woe," fill in the details, and paint a picture of the whole scene.

Thomas de Beauchamp succeeded his father at the age of two years; Hugh le Despencer had charge of his lands, and probably of his person, until that favourite's fall as a traitor in 1326, and his execution under barbarous circumstances. Roger, Lord Mortimer, then obtained the custody of Warwick Castle and all the lands, on account of the intended marriage of the heir with Mortimer's daughter Katherine. Thomas de Beauchamp did homage by special favour when in his seventeenth year, and took upon him his hereditary offices of Sheriff of Worcestershire and Chamberlain of the Exchequer. Before he was twenty Edward III. appointed him Governor of

Guernsey and the isles adjacent. He attended the King in his wars in Scotland and France, and was present at the great sea fight of 1340. In 1344 he was constituted Sheriff of Warwickshire and Leicestershire for life, and created Earl Marshal of England, and as one of the marshals of the army in France, and a chief commander, he led the van under the Black Prince at Crecy, 1346. At Poitiers, ten years later, he fought so stoutly that, like a good workman, his hand was sorely galled by his sword and battle-axe.

In 1344 (or 1350) Thomas de Beauchamp was created an original Knight of the Garter. He again attended the Black Prince into Gascony in 1365, and from thence with a band of three hundred horse he made a progress into the East, and occupied himself during these years in warring against the infidel—that convenient safety-valve for exuberant soldiers. His military ardour abroad did not hinder him from the more enduring works of building and piety at home. The walls of Warwick Castle, which in Earl Mauduit's time had been demolished, he rebuilt, and fortified the gateways, and it must be to him that we owe the great range of vaulted sub-structures and the grand tower called Cæsar's. Finally, as has been already noticed, he founded the choir of St. Mary's by his will, dated September 6th, 1369, and made the town of Warwick toll-free. In his fifty-fifth year he again took the field in France, and, old as he was for that age, he drove the French forward from Calais, wasted the district and relieved the English army, then in dire straits. But the pestilence laid hold of him, and, dying in France—November 13th, 1369—his body was brought hither and placed, as we have seen, in the midst of the choir which he had founded, by the side of his countess, Catherine, daughter of Roger Mortimer, who died a few weeks before him.

The upper end of the monument is a little darkened by the action of the fire of 1694, and it appears that

when the church was rebuilt certain necessary repairs were made to the tomb, and the damage to three or four of the weepers made good in plaster. At the same time the alabaster sword was replaced by one of iron, and not following the ancient line, which is shown by the marks of the crutches, or supports for it. This was a fatal error, and, as we have it in Hudibras:—

> "Ay me! what perils do environ
> The man that meddles with cold iron."

How great exactly the mischief of the fire was to the monuments of the Earls of Warwick we shall now never know, but the next one we have to deal with—that of Thomas de Beauchamp, died 1401—suffered to such an extent that only the brasses remain. These are fixed on the east wall of the nave, and a modern Latin inscription tells us that they were snatched from the sacrilegious flames—*imagines hasce sacrilegis ereptas flammis* —and so set up in 1706.

The figures are of a kind and time so shortly removed from those of the effigies already described, that the change in the armour and dress is not considerable. Moreover, they are so high up that their really important parts cannot well be seen. These are the examples of the "ouvrage poinçonné," or pounced work, in which the Beauchamp cognizances and the diapered patterns are executed. The heraldic devices on the bronze effigy of Richard II. and his Queen in the Abbey are well-known and beautiful instances of this most tedious and delicate work in fine dots or punctures; the examples at Warwick being the only others that have been noticed, we may suppose that both subjects are from the hand of the same artists—Nicholas Broker and Godfrey Prest, citizens and coppersmiths of London. The word pounced survives in "pounce box." The persons here commemorated are Thomas de Beauchamp, second son and heir of Thomas, in the choir, and Margaret his wife. By her will dated

November 28th, 1406, she gave her body to be buried in the collegiate church at Warwick, and willed that at her burial there should be five tapers, containing five pounds of wax, burning about her corpse from the beginning of service on the eve before her funeral until the high mass of requiem on the morrow after; and at the same time there should be twenty torches held burning by twenty poor men about her herse, and which were afterwards to remain for the high altar and other altars of the church for the honour of God and according to ancient custom and right.

Earl Thomas succeeded his father at the age of twenty-four years, and in 1376 was made Governor of the Channel Isles. In 1379 he was chosen by Parliament —*communi sententiâ*—to be governor of the King, Richard II., then a minor, as the best qualified for so high a charge. In this employment he seems to have had neither success nor satisfaction. The King showed a turbulent spirit and a weakness for giddy favourites, who pushed him on to all sorts of extravagance and iniquity. He even entered into contrivances to put his uncle —the Duke of Gloucester—and his governor to death. Upon this Warwick and Gloucester took up arms, and the King having been curbed by the Parliament in 1387, he shortly after discharged some of his great officers and counsellors, the Earl of Warwick being one of them. Thus dismissed, he retired to his castle at Warwick and amused himself with building. It was at this time that the remarkable tower called after Guy arose, and both this and the body of the great church were finished in 1394, and the choir also completed by this Thomas de Beauchamp. But the King's resentment and jealousy continued, and by the stratagem of a banquet he obtained possession of the Earl's person, and he was committed to the Tower, his quarters there giving his name to that part of the fortress. He threw himself upon the Parliament for justice, but his courage failed him, and he

pleaded guilty and "*confessa toute la traison.*" He was then condemned to lose his head for having arrayed himself against his Sovereign. But his life was spared, his castle and inheritance taken from him, and himself banished to the Isle of Man for life. But he was soon removed to London, and entirely restored by Henry IV. In the first parliament of that king he attempted to deny his confession, but was silenced by Henry. He died July 8th, 1401, and was buried, as we have seen, in the body of the great church which he finished. By his will, he left to his son Richard the sword and coat of mail of Guy, which he had received in 1369 as an heirloom from his father. This shows how ancient is the veneration in Warwickshire for this mythical personage.

We now come to a memorial—that of Richard de Beauchamp, died 1439—which is, with the single exception of the chapel and tomb of Henry VII., the noblest monument in England; and though our business now is not with architecture but with tombs and effigies, we may not pass over the Beauchamp chapel in absolute silence, because it fortunately happens that the whole of the accounts for it have been preserved. Thus we have the agreement and charges for the windows, to be made of glass from beyond the seas, and no glass of English make. This is interesting as showing us in what low estimation English art in glass was held at the time. The agreement and charges for the desks and organ house; for the painting of the doom on the west wall; for the stone images about the east window; the charges for the stone-work of the chapel; for the tomb, and the pavement and steps about it; for the table plates; the herse; "the scripture of declaration"; the weepers; the escutcheons, and the effigy of Richard de Beauchamp.

From these records we gather more particularly that William Austin, citizen and founder, of London, covenanted to cast and make an image of a man armed, of pure latten, garnished with certain ornaments, namely, with

sword and dagger, with a garter, with a helm and crest under his head, and at his feet a bear muzzled, and a griffin; all according to patterns, and all which to be brought to Warwick and laid on the tomb at the peril of the said Austin. It is important to notice that these items were made according to patterns, and there can be no doubt that the armour and accoutrements were copied from the earl's own suit and weapons. The herse and its details were made after a special pattern provided by the executors.

Then we have contracts with the goldsmith for whoning, polishing, and perfecting to the gilding the image of the man, and all the apparel thereto belonging, as well as the figures of the weepers and the escutcheons. Agreements for the gilding and burnishing of these particulars follow, showing what minute care was taken to have everything of the best possible make and finish, all the gold being provided by the executors, for they knew then, as we know now, that all is not gold that glisters.

The agreement for the tomb of Purbeck and the pavement was made with a marbler of Corfe, with so many small housing with hovels over them for the weepers, which the lattener cast and the goldsmith finished. The total charge for the chapel and tomb amounted to nearly £2,500 of money of that day, the memorial having been begun in 1442 and carried through to its completion in 1465.

The agreement for casting the effigy was entered into a few years after Beauchamp's death, and we are justified in considering that we have here an accurate representation of the man and his armour. The marked character of the countenance and the furrowed brow so well accord with the life of extreme activity which he led that they can hardly be the imaginary creation of the lattener.

The effigy lies on the plates upon the table of the tomb. It represents a man fully armed, with the hands in the position of earnest supplication, as seen in the *Orantes* in the catacombs at Rome, and which is retained

by the priest in the most solemn part of the mass The figure was drawn by Charles Alfred Stothard in 1813, and forms the subject of four beautiful etchings in his *Monumental Effigies*. Of it he writes as follows in a letter to the Rev. Thomas Kerrich, December 22nd, 1813:—

"Your conjectures respecting Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, are right; it is indeed a great acquisition. I never saw armour so well made out on any monumental figure. Every Buckle, strap and hinge is attended to. The best idea I can give you of it is to say that it appears to be a suit of brass armour, having the Head, Hands and straps added in the same metal. What I think will much interest you in this figure is that the back of it is as much finished as the front. Having obtained leave of the Mayor of Warwick to turn the effigy round, I made a drawing in this view, which explains some things I never before understood, particularly straps and pieces of armour on the shoulders of Lord Hungerford at Salisbury."[1]

As to the armour of Richard de Beauchamp, it demands a much more careful study than can be given to it here, but attention should be particularly directed to the reinforced pauldrons, or shoulder guards, with the upper edge turned over and showing the origin of the great upright pass guards of later times; the placates, reinforcing the lower part of the breast and back plates, and forming a cuirass à emboitement; the tassets round the hips; the tuiles hanging from them in front, and the culets behind. The real suit from which this was copied was, in all probability, of Milanese make.

For examples of effigies showing the back armour the following may be instanced:—St. George at Prague; St. George at Dijon; Bernabo Visconti at Milan; the Scaligers, Mastino and Cansigniorio at Verona; Gatta Melata,

1 This letter, in the possession of Mr. Hartshorne—one of many from the same hand—is interesting as a relic of an extremely talented man, whose melancholy death by an accident in the prime of life, in the church of Bere Ferrers, Devon, antiquaries will never cease to regret.

by Donatello, at Padua; Colleoni at Venice; and the armed men in Ucello's picture in the National Gallery.

Round the verge of the table of the tomb is the "Scripture of Declaration," a very picturesque piece of old English, which is broken up by figures of the bear and the ragged staff, the one being now represented by a *, and the other by ‡. The inscription runs as follows:—

* Preieth devoutly for the Sowel whom god assoille of one of the moost worshipful Knightes in his dayes | of monhode & conning ‡ Richard * Beauchamp ‡ late Erl of Warrewik * lord Despenser of * Bergavenny, & of mony other grete * lordships, whos body resteth here under this tumbe in a fulfeire vout of Stone set on the bare rooch, thewhuch visited with longe siknes in the | Castel of ‡ Roan therinne decessed ful cristenly the last day of * April the yer of oure ‡ lord god A.M | CCCCxxxix, ‡ he being at that tyme * Lieutenant genral and governer of the Roialme of Fraunce and of the Duchie of Normandie, by sufficient ‡ Autorite of oure Sou'aigne lord the King * Harry the vj. thewhich body with grete deliberac'on and ful worshipful conduite | * Bi See * And by * lond was broght to Warrewik the iiij day of ‡ October the yer aboueseide, and was | * leide with ful Solenne exequies in a feir cheſt made of Stone in this Chirche afore the west dore of this ‡ Chapel according to his last Wille * And ‡ Testament ‡ therin to reste til this ‡ Chapel by him devised i' his lief were made. Al thewhuche Chapel founded ‡ | * On the Rooch, And alle the Membres therof his ‡ Executours dede fully make And Apparaille * | * By the Auctorite of his Seide last Wille And ‡ Testament And * therafter By the ‡ same Auctorite Theydide * Translate ‡ ful * worshipfully the seide Body into the vout aboueseide, Honured be god therfore * ‡ * ‡ *

With regard to the herse, it is a simple framework or cradle of bronze gilt, and, unlike the usual herses of this time, was made as a permanent addition to the tomb, and, as the agreement states, "to beare a covering to be ordeyned." The covering was a rich pall, and we ascertain that when certain repairs were done to the monument in 1683, under the superintendence of Dugdale, a new velvet pall was provided to lie over the herse. The usual herse of the period of Beauchamp was a complete architectural composition, with tabernacles and images made and cast in wax, and ornamented with tapers, banners, and pencelles.

Herses of this kind were only temporary affairs, and as special examples we may recall those set up in four different churches to receive the corpse of Anne of Bohemia on its way from Wandsworth to Westminster in 1394, and for which four and a half tons of wax was used. As time went on these things lost their dignified architectural character, and gradually became the mere gloomy structures of black cloth and candles which were until lately represented in our own day by the senseless "lids" of black feathers, the ungainly Normandy horses, and the scarves, gloves, and hat-bands of the wily undertaker—"Wasteful and ridiculous excess," "in the first days of distracting grief."

Richard de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, son and heir of Thomas, by Margaret, daughter of William, Lord Ferrers of Groby, was born January 28th, 1382, and had as his god-fathers King Richard II. and Scrope, Archbishop of York. He took part in 1403 in the suppression of the rebellion of Owen Glendowr, and fought in the battle of Shrewsbury against the Percies. At the age of twenty-three he first displayed the knightly character, with which throughout his life he was so strongly embued, and proclaimed jousts to all comers. In 1407 he proceeded to the Holy Land, visiting many foreign courts on his way, showing extraordinary proficiency and prowess in the lists, both with lance, sword, and axe. An account

of Richard de Beauchamp's great deeds of chivalry was drawn a generation later by John Rous, chaplain of the chantry at Guy's Cliff. This artistic MS. is now preserved among Cott. MSS., E. IV. Beauchamp had a great reception at Venice, and returned through Northern Europe in 1410. No doubt on this progress he acquired the Milanese suit in which he is shown in effigy. At the coronation of Henry V. he was constituted Lord High Steward, as the patent expresses it, "for his known wisdom, and indefatigable industry." In 1415 he was Captain of Calais, and held there a famous festival of arms; he took part in the siege and surrender of Harfleur, and being sent home with the Duke of Clarence in charge of prisoners and spoils, was not present at Agincourt, October 25th, 1415. In 1420 he was made Knight of the Garter and appointed guardian of the King's eldest son, which was confirmed by Parliament at the King's demise in 1422. In 1419 he had required special authority to chastise his pupil, and to surround him with associates whose influence should be good.

On the death of the Duke of Bedford he was made Regent of France, and lieutenant-general in that realm, and in Normandy. He rebuilt the chapel at Guy's Cliff and founded a chantry there, and died at Rouen, April 30th, 1439. His first wife was Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Thomas, Lord Berkeley, Viscount Lisle, from whom the Dudley Earls of Warwick are descended. His second wife was Isabel, daughter and heir of Thomas le Despencer, who survived him only three months, and is buried with her ancestors the De Clares and Despencers under a noble monument in the solemn interior of Tewkesbury Abbey.

There also lie his son and successor Henry, Earl and Duke of Warwick, who died in 1450, and his daughter Ann, wife of Richard Nevill, the stout Earl of Warwick, the "King Maker," 1428-1471, who succeeded in her right and was slain at Barnet in 1471. Nevill's dead body was exposed "open and naked" in St. Paul's, lest it should be

Tomb of the Founder, Richard Beauchamp.

rumoured that Edward IV.'s great opponent was still living. Also George Plantagenet, Duke of Clarence, the murdered Earl of Warwick, 1477; and his wife Isabel, eldest daughter of the "King Maker." All these rest in nameless graves beneath the stately vaults of Tewkesbury.

With the barbarous beheading of the next successor, Edward Plantagenet, in 1499, for the crime of being his father's son—his sister Margaret, the very loyal governess of the Princess Mary, was executed without trial, under a sweeping Act of Attainder, and with revolting circumstances, at the age of seventy, in 1531—the title lay dormant until 1547. It was then revived in the person of John Dudley, created Duke of Northumberland in 1551; his blood, like that of his father Edmund and his son Guildford, was required and answered for him at the block in 1553, on account of his violent advocacy of the cause of Lady Jane Grey, wife of Guildford Dudley.

Ambrose, fourth son of John Dudley, was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Warwick, by a new creation, in 1557, and it is refreshing to turn from violence and carnage to his pleasing monument.

Since the death of Richard de Beauchamp, the old order of things has quite passed away. The Gothic is clean gone, and the new style presents us with a Renaissance altar tomb of considerable merit. The sides are divided by Doric pilasters and columns containing shields of arms with many quarterings, hung up alternately with red and blue ribbons, and with inscriptions below them. The ends contain shields with supporters, within rich arabesques. The effigy of the man on the top is a well-proportioned and lordly figure, in the mantle of the Garter, and is a capital example of the armour of the period, which smacks, however, rather of the upholsterer than of the armourer. Here we have large tassets made to accommodate the bombasted trunk hose, and cuffs and frills indicative of the milliner—altogether not very terrifying. The sword-belt gives a good example of a carriage or hanger, and the

hands are very life-like, as they often were in monuments of this period.

Earl Ambrose was implicated in the attempt to set Lady Jane Grey on the throne, and committed to the Tower. In 1554 he was pardoned, and on account of his military services excepted, with his brothers and sisters, from the Act of Attainder of 1553. Queen Elizabeth made him master of the Ordnance, lieutenant-general of Normandy, and Chief Butler of England. On his return from the unsuccessful expedition to France, there was some talk of his marriage with Mary Queen of Scots. Twenty-three years later he was one of the commissioners for her trial at Fotheringhay. He married three times, but left no issue, and lies alone on his tomb. At his death, February 21st, 1589, the title became extinct, and the lordships and lands which he had obtained by grant, part of the inheritance of the old Earls of Warwick, reverted to the Crown.

The tomb of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, brother of Ambrose, is also in the Beauchamp Chapel, and consists of a gorgeous erection, in which most of the details of the five orders are represented, with more than the usual English Renaissance latitude. The monument, with its meretricious decorations, is in some respects a type of the man. Certainly the scrambling, wormy, red ribbons which are mixed up with ragged staves, roses, and Roman armour will hardly inspire an epic. Justice has lost her scales, and Fortitude her sword, and perhaps the happiest feature of the whole are the sixteen pennons radiating fan-wise round the black marble inscription. This has a very pretty effect; precisely the same thing may be seen in the fine monument of Sir George Fermor at Easton Neston, 1612. The whole is coloured in a high key, and must have been insupportably garish when it was new. The altar tomb advances to the front, and is ornamented with monstrous continuous and wavy ragged staves, roses, and heraldry.

The Earl of Leicester, so created in 1564, was also implicated in the affair of Lady Jane Grey, committed to the Tower, and sentenced to death; he was pardoned in 1554, and for his military services restored in blood, together with his brother Ambrose and his sisters, Lady Mary—wife of Sir Henry Sidney, and mother of "that famous spirit" Sir Philip, and of the "fair and learn'd" Mary, Countess of Pembroke—and Catherine, wife of Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon. Of Leicester's life little can be said here. It was darkly stained, whether his public career, his overbearing, grasping, meretricious character, or his private conduct is considered. His treatment of Amy Robsart, his discreditable relations with Queen Elizabeth, his theatrical display in 1587, when he and his captains took the English army to the Low Countries, sufficiently show the manner of man he was. It was soon found that Leicester was no match for the Spaniards under the Duke of Parma, and having been recalled in 1587, he in no way lost the Queen's confidence. He died September 4th, 1588.

The effigy of the man shows him in full armour like his brother. He wears the mantle of the Garter, and the collar of the Order of St. Michael, instituted by Louis XI. in 1469. The tomb is protected in front by very good iron railings, which have fortunately been allowed to remain. The Countess Lætitia wears a red mantle, lined ermine. She took in second marriage Christopher Blount, and died December 25th, 1634, aged 94.

Hard by the tomb is a painted wooden tablet in Lettice's honour, with a quaint jingle by Gervas Clifton, not quite "a maker and model of melodious verse." From this we gather that she is buried in the vault beneath, and we are invited, with poetical licence, to gently stir the mould in order to see—

> . . . "that face, that hand,
> Which once was fairest in the land."

Such painted inscriptions were quite usual in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but, like the "impresas" of the same period, have rarely been preserved.

Before leaving the chapel, we may glance at the charming monument and effigy, "the little, little grave," of "the noble Impe Robert of Dudley," son of Robert, Earl of Leicester, who was "taken from this transitory unto the everlasting life, in his tender age," in 1584, and is "here laid up among his noble ancestors." It is a tasteful memorial of a child with his shield of sixteen quarterings above his effigy.

In the Chapter House, which it almost fills, is the impressive monument, in alabaster and black marble or "touch," of Sir Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, died 1628. This is quite free from the oddities and vulgarities with which many of the monuments of this time are overlaid. It was set up by Greville in his lifetime, and he was a man of so much taste that it is difficult to understand how he could have thrust so good a tomb into so cramped a space. The form of the sarcophagus is admirable, and it may be supposed to contain the body.

Probably, with the exception of the inscription on the tomb of the great Edward, who lies wrapped in cere-cloth and cloth of gold of crimson at Westminster, there is no such pithy inscription in England as that on the verge of Greville's tomb:—

"Fulke Greville. Servant to Queen Elizabeth. Councillor to King James, and friend to Sir Philip Sidney. *Trophæum peccati.*" Horace Walpole, in his usual airy way, says, in *Royal and Noble Authors*, "No man seems to me so astonishing an object of temporary admiration as the celebrated friend of Lord Brooke, the famous Sir Philip Sidney."

The funeral was conducted with the greatest solemnity under the personal direction of Segar *Garter*, *Richmond*, and *Somerset*, and no doubt it is to the Heralds' College that we are indebted for the funeral achievements, which

were carried in the procession, and which now lie upon the tomb. These were regulated by a scale of prices and according to the rank of the dead man.

In 1601 Queen Elizabeth granted the park of Wedgnock, and in 1605 James I. granted the Castle of Warwick, then in a ruinous state, part of the inheritance of the mediæval Earls of Warwick, to Fulke Greville. He repaired and adorned the venerable pile at a great expense, making it, as Dugdale says, "not only a place of great strength, but of extraordinary delight . . . the most princely seat within the midland part of the realm." Happily for antiquaries and persons of taste, this is as true at the present day as it was three hundred years ago, and more so.

Fulke Greville was the only son of Sir Fulke Greville, by Ann, daughter of Ralph Nevill, Earl of Westmorland, a great Warwickshire landowner. He was placed in 1564, together with Philip Sidney, at Shrewsbury School, then just founded. From thence he was entered of Jesus College, Cambridge. He served for a time under Henry of Navarre, and sat for Warwickshire in several Parliaments. From 1614 to 1620 he was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and was created Baron Brooke, with remainder to his kinsman, Robert Greville, whose great-great-grandson Francis was created Earl Brooke in 1746, and Earl of Warwick in 1759. Fulke Greville was a friend of Spenser, and a great patron of the sciences and of literature. Samuel Daniel, the friend of Shakespeare, Marlowe, Drayton, and Jonson, dedicated to him his *Musophilas*. To go any further into Greville's life would involve so large a digression into the teeming history of the time of Elizabeth, that we will only mention the sad end of this accomplished man. He was mortally stabbed by an ungrateful villain, his man-servant, in his chamber at Brooke House, Holborn, and, after languishing in agony for twenty-nine days, yielded up his spirit September 30th, 1628.

This must conclude what is no more than a slight

sketch. But, in the making of it, so many thoughts have crowded in upon the mind, that the difficulty would have been large indeed if we had not decided in the outset to take a mere gloomy funereal view in treating of the great men of the House of Warwick, who have left such enduring marks upon history, and such deep "footprints on the sands of time."

ALBERT HARTSHORNE.

CHURCH BELLS OF ANTIQUITY

BELLS do not appear to have been introduced into Christian worship until the fifth century, when Paulinus, Bishop of Nola, in Campania, is generally credited with their invention or introduction into church use. These early bells were hand-bells; they were made of iron plates beaten into four-sided shapes and welded or pinned. These were called Nola, the larger bells Campana. Church bells are, however, also called "Signa" in mediæval documents; and even in the inscriptions occasionally on bells. Of course, bells were known to the ancients; but probably the art of founding or of their manufacture had been lost. We read of the small bells which were hung from the edge of the ephod worn by the high priest in Mosaic history of Hebrew ritual. Bronze bells were found by Mr. Layard at Nineveh. They have also been found in Indian cromlechs and cairns, and small bells have been found in Egypt of the Ptolemean period. Professor J. O. Westwood, in *Archæologia Cambrensis*, speaks of the Irish, in their early attempt to Christianize Iceland, carrying with them Irish books and bells.

The term "tintinabulum" was given to a set of small bells of different tone set in a row and struck by a hammer, but we soon find the "nola" or hand-bell generally alluded to as "tintinabulum." Some of these of great antiquity are now extant in Ireland, North Wales, and Scotland. Bells appear to have been in Ireland as early as the time of St. Patrick (died 493).

The earliest bells in church use are similar to the bells now used for attaching to the neck of the sheep, the bell-wether of the flock on the Downs, where pastoral folds have no fence to divide one owner's flocks from another's. There was another sort of Irish bell of a pear-shape, called Crotal, several of which are now in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy.

The Curfew, a large bell (*couvre feu*), was known elsewhere than in this country, to which it was introduced (or possibly only re-introduced) by the Norman Conqueror, hence the French origin of title. It was the Ignitegium, as the ordered ringing at eventide was called, and, as this word itself shows, it is only the Latin form of the French fire-coverer, or fire-extinguisher. This ancient custom is preserved to this day as an eight o'clock bell in many a country church. It was rigidly enforced by William I. His rigid enforcement was abolished by his son, Henry I., in 1100.

In 604 Pope Sabinian ordered the hours to be sounded on bells, which is supposed to have originated the use of the Campana or Signa, as the large bells were called, and consequently of the building of a campanile or tower for their accommodation.

As with architecture, so with bell-founding; the art seems to have waned in the sixteenth century, and we find a period of transition, as it is called.

The most interesting bell, and probably the oldest in the county, is one at Halford, near Shipston. There are three bells. On the largest is the inscription:—

PRAYSE THE LORD YE PEOPLE 1659.

The second, re-cast in 1883, bears the inscription, probably reproduced from its original:—

✠ Sancta Katerina Ora Pro Nobis.

The date is probably about 1500.

The smallest, which is the most interesting, has the legend: —

✠ ADJOS INHONORE SANCTI JOHANNIS BAPTISTA
SUM RENOUATU

And both from the character of the lettering and from the shape of the bell, there is every appearance of antiquity, and I certainly think it must belong to the fourteenth century. Moreover, the inscription tells us that it is an older bell re-cast.

At Great Packington the little bell perhaps comes second only to the old bell of Halford in antiquity. The northern and southern parts of the county have scarcely a church bell to which an earlier date than 1500 can be assigned; whereas the neighbourhood around Warwick and Leamington seems to possess some of considerable interest. For the following I am much indebted to a paper read by the late Vicar of Claverdon before the Archæological Section of the Birmingham and Midland Institute.

At Brailes a Sanctus Bell bears an inscription in very small Gothic capitals, the cross preceding, and each word enclosed within a border: —

✠ AVE MARIA GRACIA PLENA

S I D

The great importance of Mr. Tilley's paper is through the deductions by which he arrived at the solving of problems of the greatest interest to an archæologist. He says this inscription on the ancient bell at Brailes, a Sanctus Bell, is in the same class of type as on a Sanctus Bell at Lindridge, at Worcester.

For a clue to the Packington bell, the inscription on which, owing to bad casting, is too difficult to decipher, there is at Winchenford Church in Worcestershire an interesting bell dedicated to St. Michael. On the crown

of this bell there is a second inscription, in type of a similar description to the Packington bell. This is a connecting link with another series, the most noteworthy of which is the tenor at Grimley, in the same neighbourhood; this bears date 1482, and the inscription "Dni Roberti Multon priore Wygorniæ." Robert Multon was "Celerer" and afterwards Prior of the Monastery at Worcester, being elected to that latter office in 1469. Therefore these may have been cast by the Monastery, there being a small group all near the City with one exception—one at Devonport—which Mr. Ellacombe, a great authority on church bells, tells us came from St. Alban's, Worcester, when the tower was removed to make room for local improvements.

Some of the more ancient bells have a founder's shield of arms and a male head and a female head; sometimes a male head is crowned. At Budbrooke the tenor has the founder's shield, the inscription apparently a confused jumble of a few letters of the alphabet. In St. John's, Coventry, where are some very interesting bells, one has similar type and alphabet instead of inscription. At Ryton-on-Dunsmore is the founder's name, William Watts, in the old Norwich Lombardic type, with a black letter W introduced, such a letter not having been hitherto of service in the Lombardic characters when only Latin inscriptions were used. In addition to his name, Watts puts the greater part of the letters of the alphabet on this bell, repeating the same upside down. In L'Estrange's book on Norfolk bells the author says W. Watts was a bell-founder at Leicester at the close of the sixteenth century. Later several bell-founders of his name used the same shield and type at Leicester. The Newcombes later successfully worked this foundry for many years, and several of their bells are to be found in this county bearing the shield or founder's mark of Thomas Newcombe; for instances, Sheldon third bell, Baddesley Clinton tenor, Ansley treble.

At Corley a bell, and at Stoke two, are among the most beautiful castings in Warwickshire. The cross precedes the inscription in all three; the type characters are, too, the same. Corley second bell has on it—

✠ GLORIA: TIBI: DOMINE.

The Stoke second and tenor both have

✠ SIT: NOMEN: DOMINI: BENEDICTUM.

The cross is the same as on the Sanctus bells at Harringworth and Walgrave in Northamptonshire, and probably is one of the same series according to Mr. North's identifying the donor as Bishop of Lincoln (Philip de Repingdon, who was Bishop 1405-1420). Of the same founder are apparently six in Leicestershire, one in Rutland, one in Lincolnshire, but none known in Worcestershire.

Butlers Marston second bell bears this inscription:—

✠ ANCTA: KATHERINA: ORA: PRO: NOBIS.

Offchurch treble has—

✠ SANCTI: MICHAEL: ORA: PRONOBIS;

the tenor—

✠ VIRGINIS EGREGIA VOCOR CAMPANIA MARIE,

each word being separated by a crown, the cross and crown on these three being similar. In other counties are found castings of the same description: one at St. Nicholas', Gloucester, having on it the name of the founder, Robert Hendlei, and was cast in the time of Clement Lichfield, Sacrist. Now, says Mr. Tilley, was Clement the Sacrist, Clement Lichfield, the last abbot but one of Evesham, who built the campanile at Evesham about 1533-39?

After the Dissolution of Religious Houses, bells which had belonged to some were sold and transferred

to other churches. A tradition at Wolvey says that the tenor bell came from Nuneaton Abbey, and at Baddesley Clinton some of their bells came from the Priory Church at Wroxall.

Four "royal head" bells only are known in this county; such may be seen at Lighthorne, Ipsley, and Aston Cantlow.

Aston Cantlow fourth:—

ornamental cross figure AD crowned male head LAUDEM female head CLARE

cross figure MICHAELIS female head DO crown figure RESONARE

Ipsley treble:—

cross DUM male head TONAT female head HOC cross figure

SIGNUM female head PRECE male head PELLE female head

ROBERTE cross figure MALIGNUM

At Morton Bagot is a male head, but as the inscription is in black letters, it is probably of later date.

At Bilton are three bells with bell-founder's initials J. D., probably John Danyell. At Hunningham occurs

✠ IN NOMINE IHESU VOCOR SANCTA MARGARETA,

and the names John Danyell and Henry Jurden (the latter's death took place in 1470). Both use the legend

JHU MERCI LADI HELP.

Brailes has Jurden's bell. The Milverton tenor is also Jurden's, and bears the inscription,

SANCTA KATERINA ORA PRO NOBIS,

with three figured designs, on one of which a cross, the

arms ending in *fleur-de-lys*, which terminate over a circular band, on which the motto,

JHU MERCI LADE HELP:

underneath the cross and within the circular band is another design of an ornamental cross terminating in *fleur-de-lys;* the other two designs are shields, one with bell-founders' arms, and the other pseudo-heraldic emblem.

Of Sanctus bells, Mr. Tilley says they occur at twelve churches in Warwickshire, dating from 1634-1886. The late Mr. M. H. Bloxam noted "outside the roof of some churches, on the apex of the eastern gable of the nave is a small open arch or bell-cot, in which a single small bell is suspended. This was the Sanctus or Sacring Bell, thus placed that being near the high altar it might be more readily rung when in concluding the Ordinary of the Mass the priest pronounced the 'Ter Sanctus' to draw attention to that more solemn office, the Canon of the Mass." "It was also rung . . . on the elevation of the host and chalice after consecration." Though in some cases this arch remains, the suspended bell is retained in few, Long Compton, Whichford, and Brailes being instances in this county. Mr. Bloxam made a drawing of a small Sacring Bell which was found at a Religious House in Warwick. It was in the collection of the late William Staunton, Esq., of Longbridge, and was destroyed with his whole collection in the disastrous fire at the Birmingham Library.

The bells founded by the Newcombes, at Leicester, in the sixteenth century, may be said to belong to the period of transition; when, as in Gothic architecture, the artistic spirit was fading away. Of these, about a score, nine being of the sixteenth century, may be found in this county; such as:—

Sheldon third, bearing "✠ S. MARIA."
Lower Shuckburgh second, "✠ ABCDEFGHI."

Weston treble, 1583.
Berkswell treble, 1584.
Weston fourth and Burmington single bell, 1592.
Ettington treble and second, 1595.
Barcheston tenor, 1596.

With the seventeenth century the decline has already commenced. The Bagleys, or Baglee, as spelt on a 1641 bell, the second at Ilmington, had their foundry close to the county at Chacombe, in Northamptonshire.

In the eighteenth century we get Joseph Smith, 1706, on the fourth bell at Grandborough, on which occur the names of the "Minester" and churchwardens. On Willoughby second, as in others, this founder puts "Joseph Smith, in Edgbaston, made me 1713." This foundry at Edgbaston seems to have been the only one in the county; Smith's bells are found until 1732, which date is on one at Smethwick.

For the following mottoes on eighteenth century bells, I am indebted to Mr. Briscoe, the Chief Librarian at Nottingham:—

Alvechurch—

> If you would know when we was run,
> 'Twas March twenty-two, 1701.

Coventry, 1774—

> Ye ringers all, who prize your health and happiness,
> Be sober, merry, wise and you'll the same possess.

This is also on a bell at Uppingham, of 1774, and at Knaresborough, of 1777.

Coventry, 1771—

> You people all who hear us ring,
> Be faithful to your God and King.

This also on a bell at Rockingham, Northamptonshire, of 1776, and one at Northampton, 1782.

Coventry, 1774—

Whilst thus we join in cheerful sound
May love and loyalty abound.

The same at Knaresborough, 1777, and Northampton (St. Giles'), 1782.

Coventry, 1774—

In wedlock's band, all ye who join
With hands your hearts unite,
So shall our tuneful tongues combine
To laud the nuptial rite.

Also at Knaresborough, 1777; Northampton, 1782; Timberland (Lincoln), 1789; Swineshead (Lincoln), 1794; Boston and Brant Broughton (Lincoln).

Coventry, 1774—

Though I am but light and small,
I will be heard above you all.

Coventry, 1774—

Such wondrous power to music's given,
It elevates the soul to heaven.

Also at Northampton, 1782.

Coventry, 1774—

If you have a judicious ear,
You'll own my voice is sweet and clear.

Also at Grantham, 1775; Knaresborough, 1777; Northampton, 1772.

"Nine tailors make a man."

It has been suggested that this is a corruption of a saying from the three tolls, or "tellers," for a *man* at the close of the passing bell, "Nine tellers mark a man," of course to distinguish from a woman or child.

S. S. STANLEY.

THE NEWDEGATES

ON November 20th, 1586, John Newdegate, of Harefield, exchanged the greater part of the ancient patrimony of his family for the estate of Arbury in Warwickshire, together with a sum of £700, with Sir Edmond Anderson, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. This aforesaid John Newdegate came of an old stock. Deeds are in existence showing that at least as far back as the reign of Henry III. the Newdegates held land in the parish of Newdegate, in Surrey.

In the reign of Edward III., Sir John Newdegate, a younger son of John Newdegate, of Newdegate, married Joanna de Swanland, heiress of the estate of Harefield, and from that day to this the Newdegate family have always owned an estate at Harefield, though land has been bought and sold there, re-purchased, and re-sold on more than one occasion. But it is in connection with Arbury that this article has to deal.

When John Newdegate first went there in 1586, he found a brand-new house just completed, near the site of the old Priory, which was one of the first of the small religious houses to be dissolved by Henry VIII., while Cardinal Wolsey was still the King's adviser. From an existing picture it must have been a pleasant enough house, built as it was of red sandstone, round a square court-yard, gabled and ornamented with massive chimneys. This John Newdegate had a knack of spending money freely. He got rid of more than one estate, and although he married

Martha Cave, daughter and co-heiress of Anthony Cave, of Chicheley in Bucks., he died in great debt. There is a picture of him at Arbury—an amiable-looking man with a pointed beard, wearing a ruff, and with his hand clasping a sword. Hard by his portrait hangs the picture of his wife.

She belonged to a distinguished stock. Her father, Anthony Cave of Chicheley, a younger son of Cave of Stanford in Northamptonshire, went up to London, engaged in mercantile pursuits, and made so large a fortune that he was able to leave an estate to each of his four daughters, the eldest of whom married William Chester, and inherited Chicheley in Bucks.; the second, Ann, married Griffith Hampden, and had as a grandson, Hampden the Patriot; while the fourth married Sir Richard Weston, whose son was created Earl of Portland.

John Newdegate died at the age of 51, in 1592, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Sir John Newdegate, who received the honour of knighthood. He married (1587) Ann, daughter of Sir Edward Fitton, of Gawsworth in Cheshire. All his life, apparently, he suffered more or less from pecuniary difficulties, owing to his father's extravagance, and was obliged to sell his mother's inheritance of Lathbury in Bucks.

Ann, Lady Newdegate, was a remarkable woman. She carried on a correspondence with some of the best-known men and women of her day, and the evidence room at Arbury contains letters to her from statesmen like Sir William Knollys, Sir Fulke Greville, and Sir Richard Leveson of Trentham, while among her feminine correspondence is a letter to her from Lady Arabella Stewart. Her household accounts show how careful a housewife she was, and on the death of her husband in 1610 at the early age of 41, she devoted her life to looking after her children, and to doing her best for her infant son's estate. That she was appreciated in her generation is shown by the large number of pictures of her friends and relations

given to her by themselves which still hang on the walls at Arbury, while no less than five portraits of her are in existence.

Letter from Lady Arabella Stewart to Ann, Lady Newdegate:

"I thancke you sweet Mrs. Newdigate for your fine cuffes & kinde rememberance of me, hopinge this our acquaintance newlye begonne shall continewe, and growe greater hereafter, of which I shall be uerye gladde; as likewise I shall be to see you somtime here when you best can. Thus with my uery hartye comendations to you and my Lady Fitton, I ende. Chessey this 14 of March.

"Your assured frende

"Arbella Stewart."

Letter from Sir William Knollys to Ann, Lady Newdegate, on accepting the post of "Gossipp" (Godfather) to her daughter:

"How desyrous I am in person to pfforme the offyce off a Godfather myne owne hart knoweth & you shold have seene yff I wear wthin myne owne power, but such ys my bondage to this place as I have neyther libertye to please my selff nor satisffye my good ffrends expectation, amonst wch I must accompt you in the fformost rank as well ffor your owne worthynes as ffor being so nerlye united both in nature & love to those wch I honor much & who maye more comand me than all the world besyds. But my thoughts off that partye I will leave to be discovered not by this base means off penne & paper but by my selff. Accept I praye you off my lawffull excuse ffor not coming my selff, assuring you that I will be ever readye to pfforme eny frendlye deutye to you; I have entreated my brother Blunt to supplye my place in makyng your lylte one a Christian soule & gyve yt what name yt shall please you. Imagine what name I love best and that doe I nominate but reffer the choyse to your selff, & yff I might be as happye to be a ffather as a godffather, I would think myselff exceedyng rich, but that will never be untill one of your owne tribe be a partye player. I shold like nothing that you playe the nurse yff you wear my wyffe. I must confesse yt argueth great love, but yt breedeth much troble to yourselff & yt would more greave you yff suckyng your owne milke yt should miscarye children being subject to manye casualtyes. But you maye tell me I am more curious in this poynt then I neede but I speak yt in ffrendlye councell not meaning eyther to contrarye your owne will or dysswade you ffrom your resolution yff by a reasonable perswasion your selff think not good to alter your pourpos. Thus wthout ffarther complements wisshing you a

happye mother off manye chyldren & your owne hart's desyre wth my best salutations I comend you to God & will ever remayne

" Your assured poore ffrend & gossep

" W. Knollys.

" To my verye Lovyng ffrend Mrs. Anne Newdygate."

Letter from Sir Fulke Greville to Ann, Lady Newdegate:

" Deare esteemed & best beloved servant All ye words in ye world cannot suffycyntly expresse ye Joy & comfort I take in bearying ye tytle & name off your Mr. Many men are diversely affectted, some take pryde off fayre howses some off theare welth some off fayre wyffs & others off theare chyldrene; I only glory yt I have a servant wch conteynes all vertews & ye same draws to her ye trew love & affecktion off all good mynds & myne in good faythe sweete servant in such sort that thoughe I have ye honor to be called your Mr. yet have ye powre to comand me & any thing I have, & in yt so redye to obey yt I shalbe most glad when you shalbe pleased to use yt yr awcktority. My servant farewell, be nott weery in well thinckynge of him whose thoughts ar still bent to do you honor. My syster Grevyle kyndly comends her to you, & yff shee do nott love to speake whatt shee thincks nott (wch I never yett knew her do) then shee loveth you more then exceedyngly. Wee prattle many tymes off you I wyshe your eares glow nott I desyre to be in all frendly sort remembered to Mr. Nudigate, whose felycyty I shall envy ye lesse, yff he wyll accompany you once a year to this howse. My brother salutes you even wth holl hart, I commend my body sole lyfe lands & goods into your hands, God prosper you & yours so shall nott I fayle to do well.

" From Beachampscourt this 20th off August, 1599 by him yt loves & honors you

" Your Mr. off your own favor and curtesye

" ffowlke Grevyle."

At Ann Lady Newdegate's death in 1618, her eldest son, John, was only 18 years of age, and to increase the family resources there was an idea of letting Arbury. In 1621, however, this said John married Susanna Luls, heiress of a Dutch merchant, who, though homely in her looks, must, judging from her letters, have been an excellent wife. This John Newdigate, after representing Liverpool in the House of Commons 1628-9, and leaving behind him a MS. diary of its proceedings during that

eventful period, died in 1642, and was succeeded by his younger brother, Richard.

To him the family owe most of their present possessions. His father died when he was 8, his mother when he was 16 years old. Left with a younger son's fortune, but blessed with an elder brother to whom he was devotedly attached, he made his way up to London in early youth and studied at the Bar.

It is likely that Richard Newdegate was thrown a good deal among his father's relatives, the Hampdens—living, as they did, not far from town. The Hampden of that day was married to an aunt of Oliver Cromwell. It is unfortunate that no letters have been preserved from John Hampden the Patriot, who was Richard Newdegate's second cousin. Indeed, only one letter from Oliver Cromwell has been preserved at Arbury, and that is to John Newdigate, who died in 1642, on the subject of hawking. The tradition in the family is that these letters have been destroyed, and the one preserved is docketed:

"Oliver Cromwell, that Wicked, Successfull Rebell, his letter to my Uncle J. N. No business but about Hawkes but I keep it to shew his hand & stile."

"Sr.

"I must with all thankfulnesse acknowledge the curtesye you have intended me in keepinge this hawke soe longe to your noe small trouble, and although I have noe interest in hir, yet if ever it fall in my way, I shalbe ready to doe you service in the like or any other kinde. I doe confesse I have neglected you in that I have received two letters from you without sending you any answer, but I trust you will pass by it and accept my true and reasonable excuse. This poore man the owner of the hawke, whoe, livinge in the same towne with me, made use of my vannells, I did daly expect to have sooner returned from his journey then he did, which was the cause whie I protracted time and deferred to send unto you, until I might make him the messinger, whoe was best able to give an account, as also fittest to fetch hir, I myself being utterly destitute of a falconer att the present, and not having any man whom I durst venture to carrie a hawke of that kind soe farre. This is all I can apologise. I beseech you command me and I shall rest

"Your servant, Oliver Cromwell.

"My Cosin Cromwell of Gray's Inn was the First what told me of hir."

Richard Newdegate, who was getting on well at his profession, was in 1631 able to marry Julian, daughter of Sir Francis Leigh, of Newnham-Regis, and sister to Francis, Earl of Chichester, who, from his portraits, was a jovial, open-handed Cavalier.

Although married to a wife of Cavalier stock, Richard Newdegate's sympathies were not in open antagonism to the Parliamentary Party. In 1653, the date when Cromwell was proclaimed Lord Protector, on the former leaders of the Bar being requested by him to be made judges, and on their refusing to become so under a Lord Protector, Oliver Cromwell is reported to have replied to a body of them, with Sir Matthew Hale at their head, that "if you gentlemen of the red robe will not execute the laws, my red-coats shall," on which Sir Matthew Hale and his companions all exclaimed, "Make us judges! We will be judges!" So, in 1653, Richard Newdegate was made Serjeant-at-Law, and in 1654 Judge of the Upper Bench. But in 1655 he was deposed from this position by Oliver Cromwell for declaring that no title could be given to sales of Crown lands, and for acquitting the Earls of Bellasis and Dumfries and others who had been arraigned for high treason against the Lord Protector. In 1657 Richard Newdegate appears to have been reinstated as judge, and on January 17th, 1660, he was appointed Chief Justice of the Upper Bench.

Charles II. did not, however, continue him in this appointment, but he continued to be for the rest of his life Serjeant-at-Law.

In 1677 Charles II. made him a Baronet, and remitted the usual fees incidental to the dignity "in consideration of several good services performed to us and our faithful subjects in the time of usurpation."

There is a fine portrait at Arbury of Sir Richard Newdegate, by Zoust, fine not only as a work of art, but as portraying the straightforward, honest character of the

man. His letters are like himself, God-fearing, clear, and straight to the point.

He died in 1678, aged 76, after having bought back the property at Harefield which his grandfather had alienated, besides more than doubling the size of the Warwickshire estates, in addition to providing handsome fortunes for his younger children, to one of whom he left the estate of Kirk Hallam in Derbyshire. His wife, Julian, Lady Newdegate—worthy of him, to judge by her portrait as an old lady, by Lely, and by what remains of her writings—survived him for some years. They never seem to have lived much at Arbury, which was made over to their eldest son, Richard, on his marriage in 1668, but to have lived at the Leaden Porch in Holborn, and at Harefield.

Like so many of his family, Sir Richard Newdegate at one time sat in the House of Commons, being elected M.P. for Tamworth in 1660.

Sir Richard Newdigate, the second baronet, who started his married life at Arbury, and who changed his name from Newdegate to Newdigate, was born in 1644, and in 1665 married Mary, daughter of Sir Edward Bagot, of Blithfield in Staffordshire. In 1681 and 1685 he was elected M.P. for the County of Warwick, and for a short time appears to have held a minor Court appointment. When in Parliament, he was instrumental in getting the muskets for the Army made in Birmingham, whereas before they had been imported from Germany. A letter, dated Birmingham, November 4th, 1692, is extant:—

"Worthy Sir,

"Wee are much ashamed that we have been soe long silent of acknowledging the great kindness that yr Worship did us in helpeing us to the worke of makeing musketts for his Majs in Birmingham and we could not tell how to make yor Worship any part of sattisfaction for yor great kindnesse that we have alwayes received from you, therefore we begg yor Worships acceptance of a small token wch we have sent by the bearer hopeing yor Worshipp will pardon this troble we remain

"Yor Worships Humble Servts,

"The Company of Gunmakers of Birmingham."

But the bulk of his life was spent at Arbury. He employed Grinling Gibbons, whose bills are still preserved, to execute carvings for the chapel in the house, which was consecrated by Archbishop Sheldon, and is a beautiful thing.

"Estimate of Gringling Gibbons for Arbury Chapel.

"The wainscote of the Chappell acording to article at the first bargin is 3 shillings 6 pence the yarde but what it will amount to I do not know till it be measured.

"The . . . and doors must be paid for at work and halfe because they are wrate on both sides. The mens seats 12 shillings apeece for they can not be measured by the yarde as the other work is. The strings of frute with Cherubims heads 10 shillings a peece.

"The Cherubim head and draiperie over the orgin frame 3 shillings and 6 pence.

"The pulpit 5 pound.

"As for the worke at the uper end of the chappell you have the partickolors of the 2 frontispeeces and carving allredy only the wainscote window light must be paid for acording to the rate of the other work."

He built the splendid stables of red-brick, with stone facings, acting under the advice of Sir Christopher Wren, whose letters thereon are still extant.

He took the greatest interest in trees and farming. Many of his memoranda on the subject of farming are in existence, as is a letter to him from John Evelyn. Most of the limes, cedars, and Scotch firs, which are at the present day such an ornament at Arbury, were planted by him. Judging by his portrait by Lely, and by his writings, he was a man of varied interests. He died in 1709, aged 66, his well-loved wife, Mary Bagot, having died before him, in 1692. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Richard, born in 1668, of whom a picture, by Dahl, exists.[1] He

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1 An interesting receipt of Sir Hans Sloane for attending a daughter of the second Sir Richard Newdigate.

"June the 10. 1709.

"Received then of the Lady Sedley the summe of five and twenty guineas upon the account of my attendance upon and care of her sister Mrs. Newdigate for many months.

"Hans Sloane."

died in 1727, aged 59, having been twice married; first, in 1693, to Sarah, daughter of Sir Cecil Bishopp, of Parham in Sussex, who died in 1695; and secondly, to Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Roger Twisden, of Bradburne in Kent, who survived her husband many years, not dying till 1765. Judging by her portraits, of which there are several, she must have been always good-looking, but in her old age a most beautiful old lady. And to the very last she must have preserved her faculties, for there is a wonderful piece of needlework mounted in a screen, which she executed at the age of 84.

She had the misfortune to lose many of her children. Her fifth son, who succeeded as fourth baronet Sir Edward Newdigate, died at the age of eighteen years, and was succeeded by his youngest brother, Sir Roger Newdigate, the fifth baronet, then a boy at Westminster School.

When a young man, Sir Roger Newdigate undertook a rather protracted tour on the Continent, at that time no small affair.

Shortly after his return, in 1742, he was unanimously elected M.P. for Middlesex, which seat he retained till 1750, when he was elected M.P. for Oxford University, which he continued to represent till 1780.

Sir Roger Newdigate all his life took a great interest in Oxford, of which University he was LL.D. He was instrumental in obtaining the Pomfret Marbles for that University, left to it several antique works of art, and has made his name famous for ever in its annals by leaving a sum of money to start the Newdigate Prize for poetry—only, whereas by his will the poem was to be no more than sixty lines, it is now far longer. But apart from public life, the great work of Sir Roger was, in his own estimation, Gothicizing the old house of Arbury.

It is at the present time considered bad taste to convert an Elizabethan house into a Gothic one. But in Sir Roger Newdigate's day the eighteenth-century study of Gothic architecture was commencing. What is remarkable about

Arbury is that, unlike Strawberry Hill, the outside work is entirely executed in stone. Sir Roger Newdigate was his own architect. He started operations about 1775, and had only finished shortly before his death in 1806. The interior of Arbury contains the most elaborate Gothic ceilings, all executed in beautiful stucco work by Italian workmen imported by Sir Roger. He entered into his plans with enthusiasm, and whether his taste was at fault or not, there is little doubt that he left Arbury a fine example of Gothic architecture, and far more convenient as a residence than before its alteration.

To this day Sir Roger's name is remembered by old people in the neighbourhood of his home. A strong Tory and High Churchman, he stuck out for what he believed to be right, and was noted for his fairness towards his tenants and dependants. Several pictures exist of him at Arbury, including a remarkable one by Romney, as well as of his second wife, Hester, daughter of Edward Miller-Mundy, of Shipley in Derbyshire. His first wife was Sophia, daughter of Edward Conyers, of Copt Hall in Essex. Having left no surviving issue by either wife, he adopted as his heir Charles Parker, third son of William Parker, of Salford Priors, near Alcester, for whose education and upbringing Sir Roger made himself responsible. This Charles Parker married a daughter of Sir John Anstruther, but died in 1795, leaving an infant son and three daughters.

The second Lady Newdigate dying in 1800, Sir Roger Newdigate persuaded Francis Newdigate, brother of Charles Parker, to make Arbury his home, and undertook to leave it him for his life.

The father of Francis Newdigate and Charles Parker, William Parker, of Salford Priors, a South Warwickshire squire, had married Millicent Newdigate, daughter and eventual heiress of Francis Newdigate, of Kirk Hallam.

In 1762, when a boy of eleven, Francis, the second son of William and Millicent Parker, on succeeding to

the Kirk Hallam estates, had, by his uncle's will, to take the name and arms of Newdigate.

It was on this Francis Newdigate, who, with his wife, Frances, daughter of Ralph Sneyd, of Keele, took up his abode with Sir Roger in 1800, that Arbury devolved on the death of Sir Roger Newdigate, but for his life only. He lived there till 1835 the life of a country gentleman. During his period of possession, Robert Evans, the father of George Eliot, came to Arbury as land-agent. In a farm-house just outside the park George Eliot was born, and her pen has immortalised Arbury and its occupants in "Mr. Gilfil's Love Story" in *Scenes of Clerical Life*. When George Eliot was a small child her father removed to Griff House, a comfortable house some two and a half miles from Arbury, on the road between Nuneaton and Coventry, and at that house, and later on at Foleshill, near Coventry, George Eliot studied hard and cultivated her great powers, which resulted in the accurate depicting of Warwickshire ways and customs in her earlier novels.

But to return to Arbury and its possessors. On the death of Francis Newdigate in 1835, who, having led a thrifty life, largely added to his estates, the grandson of Charles Parker, Charles Newdigate Newdegate, succeeded to that place under the guardianship of his widowed mother, Mrs. Newdegate, daughter of Ayscoughe Boucherett, of Willingham in the county of Lincoln. She died in 1868. For nearly forty-three years Charles Newdegate represented North Warwickshire in Parliament, retiring in 1885. He called himself a Whig of the principles of 1688, but by the world in general was considered an old-fashioned Tory. Twice he was offered office, and twice refused the same. He constantly spoke in the House of Commons, where he was respected by every one for his fearless honesty and integrity of purpose. He earnestly but unsuccessfully advocated the inspection of convents, but was more successful in his Parliamentary opposition to the professed atheist, Bradlaugh.

On retiring from the House of Commons, Charles Newdegate was made a Privy Councillor. A letter of congratulation to him from the then editor of the *Daily News*, a journal bitterly opposed to him in politics, is a proof of the respect in which he was held by political opponents.

Charles Newdegate, who was extremely popular among his neighbours of all sorts, and was nicknamed by the working men "My Uncle," was a very fine horseman. He used to break in his own horses, and in the hunting-field was second to none. Dying in 1887, aged 71, by his will the estates passed to General Edward Newdigate, grandson of that Francis Newdigate who died in 1835, and fourth son of Francis and Lady Barbara Newdigate, of Kirk Hallam. By Sir Roger Newdigate's will, his heirs had to take the name of Newdegate—the old way of spelling the name—and Charles Newdegate made the same stipulation in his will.

Thus General Edward Newdigate became Newdegate. In the year 1894 he was made K.C.B., having seen active service in the Crimea and Zulu War, where he was one of the generals sent out to command a division, and having held commands at Chatham and Dover, besides being Governor of Bermuda.

He died in the year 1902, leaving a widow, Ann Emily—daughter of a former Dean of Lincoln and Lady Caroline Garnier, his wife—authoress of three books dealing with three epochs in the Newdegate family.

On the death of Sir Edward Newdegate in 1902, aged 77, under the will of Charles Newdegate the Arbury estates passed to Francis Alexander, only son of Colonel Francis Newdigate, of Kirk Hallam, elder brother of the aforesaid Sir Edward Newdegate. Mr. Newdegate's mother was the daughter of Field-Marshal Sir Alexander Woodford; his wife is daughter of the late Lord Bagot. Mr. Newdegate was M.P. for North-East Warwickshire from 1892 to 1906.

F. A. NEWDEGATE.

THE LITERARY ASSOCIATIONS OF WARWICKSHIRE

AS Washington Irving could write of Stratford-on-Avon that "the mind refuses to dwell upon anything that is not connected with Shakespeare, the whole place seems but as his mausoleum," so to many people Warwickshire, the middle county of the Midlands, presents itself too exclusively as "Shakespeare's land," with its capital of Stratford-on-the-Avon, the dividing line between the old districts of Arden and Felden.

> "These bounds
> With shadowy forest and with champains rich'd
> With plenteous rivers and wide-skirted meads."

The difficulty of writing about Shakespeare in Warwickshire is twofold, though it is a difficulty which presents itself in both its aspects, when other great and popular writers are concerned. Almost everything that is worth saying about his connection with Stratford and South Warwickshire has already been said; while a certain amount has been said which is not in the least worth saying.

But besides Shakespeare, there are a number of interesting figures connected with the county. There are Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, remembered for his friendship with Sir Philip Sidney; and Drayton, the panegyrist of the counties of England, "who has gone over her soil (in his *Polyolbion*) with the fidelity of a herald, and the painful love of a son, who has not left a rivulet

(so narrow that it may be stept over) without honourable mention, and has animated hills and streams with life and passion above the dreams of old mythology." There are, again, a group of writers of the eighteenth century, piping, it is true, "upon the lower slopes"—Jago, Graves, and Somervile; and later, the greater names of Walter Savage Landor and George Eliot.

The earliest of these, Fulke Greville (in his later years Lord Brooke), the ancestor of the present Earls of Warwick, was of a noble house connected with the Beauchamps and Willoughbys. A favourite courtier of Queen Elizabeth during her later life, on King James I.'s coronation he was created Knight of the Bath, and not long after had a royal grant of the then ruinous Castle of Warwick—on which he spent enormous sums (it is said £20,000), until it became, as it remains still, "the boast of the county and of England," through its magnificent reach of wall and towered battlements, and as Dugdale adds admiringly, "not only a place of great strength, but extraordinary delight, with most pleasant gardens, walks, and thickets, such as this part of England can hardly parallel, so that it is the most princely seat within the midland parts of this realm."[1]

Michael Drayton, who lived, like Fulke Greville, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth and James I., is connected with the north-eastern edge of the shire, not far from the Leicestershire levels—not the most enchanted part of Warwickshire. Born at the quarry village of Hartshill, near Atherstone, in 1563, Drayton's county "befits his utterance—rather pedestrian, seldom of the rarest, but often coming near it." To the south-east of his home lies the road to Nuneaton and Coventry, of whose "Ports and proud Pyramids" and "rising spires" he writes in his poems, and whose patroness, Godiva, was to him a

[1] There are extant of his writings—two tragedies, some tracts in verse, an elegy on Sidney and other poems, prose letters, and *The Life of the Renowned Philip Sidney*.

"type" of Anne Goodere, born in that city.[1] Polesworth, another place that witnessed Drayton's youth, lies some miles away, in the valley, upon Drayton's slow-moving river, "clear Ancor," with "its silver-sanded shore," upon whose banks lived "the nymph Idea." When a boy he entered the home of the Gooderes, a house of gentlefolk in the same countryside, and it is to his rearing by them that he refers in "The Owl," if it is himself he calls "nobly bred and well allied." The head of the family when he was young was Sir Henry Goodere, "that learn'd and accomplished gentleman" (Drayton writes) "whose I was whilst he was, whose patience pleased to bear with my heedless and unstayed youth"; and in another dedication he offers his thanks to "the happy and generous family of the Gooderes, to which I confess myself beholding to for the best part of my education."

The vicarage of Polesworth stands on the grounds of the old nunnery, which on its dissolution in 1545 was sold to the Gooderes; and the great hall is now the large room of the vicarage. It must have been by this hearthstone that Drayton as a boy listened to the harper, for long after, addressing the younger Sir Henry Goodere, he hopes his odes:—

> "May become John Hewes his lyre
> Which oft at Polesworth by the fire
> Hath made us gravely merry."

The contemporary who speaks of him as "golden-mouthèd Drayton musical" is singularly ill-inspired, but with all his defects Drayton has written the best fairy poetry outside Shakespeare, and his enormous *Polyolbion* is a very great work in another than the mechanical sense, in spite of its obvious disadvantages of metre and treatment. One of these is that it is often uncertain if he

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1 With Coventry is connected Philemon Holland (1551-1636), called by Fuller "the translator generall," who became a citizen of Coventry in 1612. In 1628, at the age of 77, he was appointed headmaster of the Free School. He is buried in Holy Trinity Church.

saw what he writes of, or is adapting it from a book. "The list of plants from his own shire might have come from a herbal, with its receipts for sauces and purges"; indeed, his native Warwickshire is given no fuller measure than any other county—there is no trace in him of the "painful love of a son." He never rises, like Dugdale and Camden, who, writing of the beauty of Guy's Cliffe, are stirred into an unwonted effort of description, even in the pre-descriptive era. Camden says:—

"Under this hill, hard by the river Avon, standeth Guy's Cliffe . . . the very seate itselfe of pleasantness. There have yee a shady little wood, cleere and cristall springs, mossy bottomes and caves, medowes alwaies fresh and greene, the river rumbling here and there among the stones with his stream making a milde noise and gentle whispering, and besides all this, solitary and still quietnesse, things most grateful to the muses."

The third and least of the three Elizabethan poets born in Warwickshire is John Marston (1575?-1634), whose father, who belonged to an old Shropshire family, migrated to Coventry. The date of the poet's birth is uncertain, but his birthplace probably was Coventry, and at Coventry school he was educated. Very little is known of Marston's life, and there is no trace of any local influences in his writings. It is possible that this absence of information would have been grateful to him, for he dedicated the firstfruits of his genius "To everlasting oblivion," and on his gravestone, six and thirty years afterwards, was inscribed, "Oblivioni Sacrum."

After the death of Marston there is a long interval until we come upon a literary circle of the reign of George II., what Mr. Hutton calls the "Warwickshire coterie"—Jago, Somervile, Lady Luxborough, and Richard Graves. Shenstone, whom Mr. Hutton includes in the Warwickshire circle, properly belongs to Shropshire. They have left behind them "works in modest abundance, poems of different degrees of artificiality, and letters of a charm which seems to us to-day curiously old-world and complacent." The muse of the coterie was Henrietta

Knight, Lady Luxborough.[1] "The poet of Arden (Jago) sang his wood-notes wild, as did Somervile and Shenstone, to the widowed dove in the shady retreat of Barrells; and Lady Luxborough answered them all three in songs as sweet as their own," writes the author of a paper on Leamington and its literary associations. Horace Walpole describes her as "high-coloured" and "lusty," with a great black bush of hair, and says that she retired to "a hermitage on Parnassus"—her husband's estate of Barrells, which she laid out in the style of landscape gardening popularised by Shenstone. For she was within easy reach of Shenstone at the Leasowes, whom she frequently visited, and with whom she kept up a regular correspondence, which is, in Walpole's phrase, "insipidity itself," entirely occupied with sentimental gardening, "genteel urns," and the art of finding proper inscriptions for them, compliments to Shenstone's "ferme ornée," and depreciations of her "ferme negligée," as she calls it. Shenstone celebrates their somewhat artificial Arcadia in his ode on "Rural Elegance." She was also the friend of the poet William Somervile, to whose memorial urn she devotes several pages in her letters.

Somervile, far the most living member of the coterie to-day, was a fox-hunting squire, who used to come up to town periodically to worship Mr. Addison.[2] His estate of Edston was inherited from a long line of ancestors. He says of himself that he was born near the Avon's banks; and in one of his rhyming effusions to Ramsay he calls himself—

"A squire well-born and six foot high."

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1 Henrietta St. John, married in 1727 to Robert Knight, of Barrells, created Baron Luxborough in 1746. She died in 1756, and was buried in the church of Wootton Wawen, whence her remains were afterwards removed to a mausoleum near Barrells.

2 Addison, at the close of his life, lived in Warwickshire. In 1711 he purchased Bilton Hall, near Rugby, in the grounds of which there is a spot known as "Addison's Walk." There are also some fine cedars of Lebanon which he is said to have planted. In 1716 he married Charlotte, Dowager Countess of Warwick.

Very little is known of his life; but he appears to have died in distress, and Shenstone writes that he was "forced to drink himself into pains of the body in order to get rid of the pains of the mind." He died in 1742, and was buried at Wootton. Johnson wrote of him that it may "be said, at least, that he writes very well for a gentleman," which seems little higher praise than if one were to say that he "spells like a lord."

Another member of the circle and friend of Shenstone was the Reverend Richard Graves. His innumerable books are very difficult to obtain, and no modern man of letters has tried to give them a vogue, yet in its day the *Spiritual Quixote*—a curious and not unentertaining book—had an enormous popularity. When the *Spiritual Quixote* enters Warwickshire, there is preserved a record of the characteristics of Shakespeare that were still remembered near Stratford-on-Avon in Graves' day.

"Oh, I know Stratford-on-Avon well," says one of the humbler characters; "it's the place where Shakespeare, the *great jester*, was born." "All the idea," adds Graves, "which the country people have of that great genius is that he excelled in smart repartees and *selling of bargains*, as they call it"—which is quite in harmony with the accepted facts and records of Shakespeare personality. Graves was not above a jest at his friend Shenstone's landscape gardening, and makes his Mr. Wild Goose, the *Spiritual Quixote*, overthrow the leaden statue of the Piping Fawn from its pedestal at the Leasowes, because Shenstone seemed to "pay a greater regard to Pan and Sylvanus than to Paul and Silas."

Shenstone, who was at Pembroke College, Oxford, with Graves, and remained fast friends with him, was at school with Richard Jago at Solihull, under a Mr. Crumpton, whom he describes as "a morose pedagogue."

Richard Jago,[1] who was born in the parsonage of Beaudesert, and made the acquaintance of Somervile, whose estate was not far from Beaudesert, was naturally a member of the Arden coterie. At Snitterfield Jago spent the later years of his life, and amused himself in "improving his vicarage garden and ornamenting his grounds, which were agreeably situated, and had many natural beauties." A pastoral of his "Ardenna" is an eclogue, with the forest for subject; and he wrote a long poem in blank verse under the title of *Edgehill, or the Rural Prospect delineated*—which, as Dr. Johnson said of Shenstone's, "those that can read them may probably find to be like the blank verses of his neighbours." His local poems are of no interest to the archæologist, though he discusses questions of archæology in an ornate manner. At the end of the first book of his redoubtable poem, he seeks for a cause for the figure of a horse cut in the red soil on the side of the hill, which gives its name to the Vale of the Red Horse. After dismissing as unsatisfactory the theories that the horse was due to a freak of nature, lightning, planetary influence, the lair of Pegasus, the impression of the "red-hot seal of some huge Polypheme," he drops to the more obvious suggestion that, after all, it is nothing but the symbol of the Saxon Conquest, like the various White Horses upon chalk downs!

Walter Savage Landor, by his birthplace, as he liked to remember, was a neighbour of the greatest English poet, and, like Somervile, he could say he was born "on the Avon." He was born in Warwick,[2] in "the best house

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1 Jago's life (1715-1781) was spent almost entirely in Warwickshire. In 1737 he became curate of Snitterfield. In 1746 he was appointed to the livings of Harbury and Chesterton in that county. In 1754 he was nominated to the vicarage of Snitterfield. These three benefices he retained until 1771, when he resigned the former two, on his preferment to the rectory of Kimcote (Leicester). Jago, however, continued to live at Snitterfield, and died there in 1781. He was buried there in a vault in the church he had had constructed for his family.

2 30th January, 1775.

of the town, facing to the street, but overshadowed at the back by old chestnuts and elms." A letter to his sister describes its old mulberry trees, its cedars, the chestnut wood, with the church appearing through it, the cistus she had planted for him, and the fig tree at the window, on whose leaves, when last he saw them, a soft rain was dropping. "It is never," he said, "that I quit Warwick, where I was born, without a pang."

Landor came of a Staffordshire family, affluent and respectable; and he was fond of collecting evidences of its antiquity. He believed that his descent could be traced back for seven hundred years—for about half that time, said Robert Landor, his less credulous or less imaginative brother. Through his mother, Elizabeth Savage,[1] came to him two Warwickshire estates, Ipsley Court and Tachbrook, the former on the borders of Worcestershire, not far from Redditch, the latter close to Leamington.

Tachbrook, which is not far from Warwick, alternated with Warwick as his home as a boy. He has a poem to "Sweet Tacaea" (which is his softer version of the name), its "venerable elms" and the little stream, where

> "Pleasant was it once to watch thy waves
> Swelling o'er pliant beds of glossy weed;
> Pleasant to watch them dip, amid the stones
> Chirp, and spring over, glance and gleam along,
> And tripping light their wanton way pursue."

As a very old man he would write to one of his brothers that it was "the only locality for which I feel any affection." "Well do I remember it," he writes, "from my third or fourth year, and the red filberts at the top of the garden, and the apricots from the barn

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1 Landor's friend and biographer, John Forster, on one occasion had the greatest difficulty in restraining him from sending a challenge to Lord John Russell for some fancied slight to the memory of Sir Arnold Savage, Speaker of Henry VII.'s first House of Commons; "yet any connection beyond the name could not with safety have been assumed."

wall." For "Ipsley's peninsular domain," its encircling stream, we have the pleasantest expression of his affection in some verses, where he tells us:—

> "In youth 'twas there I used to scare
> A whirring bird or scampering hare,
> And leave my book within a nook
> Where alders lean above the brook."

A pride in Ipsley breaks out in his dialogue with the Marchese Pallavicini (whose palace he rented at Albaro), for to the Marchese's boast of the magnificence of Genoese doorways, Landor returns that there are oak staircases in England as worthy to be commemorated, and that he himself inherited an old ruinous house,[1] "up whose staircase the tenant rode his horse to stable him."

It is characteristic of Landor that he can at another time be vehement against Ipsley and its neighbouring Redditch, "where there are the worst rogues in the kingdom, needle-makers, fish-hook makers, etc.," for he was nothing if not inconsistent. Writing to his sister in 1830, Ipsley is quite fallen from favour: "Never was any habitation more thoroughly odious—red soil, mince-pie woods, and black and greasy needle-makers."

There are very few references to Warwickshire in Landor's works, except in some of his slight and personal poems, but the scene of one of his least successful dialogues, one concentrated dreariness, from the editor's preface to the post-scriptum, is laid in Charlecote, and no doubt what attracted him especially towards the episode of Shakespeare's trial at Charlecote for deer-stealing was his own early familiarity with the scenery and associations of the place—with the "two old towers that don't match," at Warwick, and the tender grass of "Alvercote mead," and the little hamlets "not far from Stratford."

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1 It is probable that Landor inherited his love for, and interest in, trees from his mother. Of Ipsley his mother writes, in 1821, to him: "As I cut no timber for repairs, I depend on you, for my sake, not to cut any down, as the timber is the beauty of Ipsley." Again, in a later letter, she writes: "No place can be truly beautiful without fine trees."

The idea of introducing Sir Thomas Lucy in an imaginary conversation had been in Landor's mind since 1831, when, writing of the "younger generation of Warwickshire names—merely names to me, but connected with remembrances that reach beyond them"—he supposes "that the families go on much the same," and wonders what the Lucys would think if he were to introduce into a dialogue Shakespeare's Old Sir Thomas. In an earlier dialogue of Chaucer, "Petrarch and Boccaccio," he had represented Chaucer relating a story about an (imaginary) ancestor of Sir Thomas Lucy; and Landor now introduces that magistrate himself, sitting in judgment in the hall of Charlecote. It is one of Landor's failures, in spite of Charles Lamb's magnificent tribute to it.

A neighbour and friend of Landor's early years was Dr. Parr, with whom Landor exchanged scholarship and politeness when the Warwickshire militia would have none of him.[1]

Parr was an eccentric of eccentrics, and withal a very estimable person, in spite of De Quincey's denunciations of him as a lisping scandal-monger, a retailer of gossip fitter for washerwomen over their tea than for scholars and statesmen. He seems to have been singularly self-important and pompous. Before he set foot in Warwickshire—he was appointed to the vicarage of Hatton, near Warwick, in 1783—he expected to be appointed a county magistrate there, or, as a biographer carefully expresses it, "he wished not merely to enjoy the country, but to be useful to the county in which he was about to reside." He was never, however, appointed a magistrate—his Jacobinical principles told against him socially. Once it is said when he proposed to print a political invective against Lord Warwick, Lord Warwick simply desired

[1] The officers of the Warwickshire militia threatened to resign their commissions in a body if Landor received one. The alleged cause of their feeling was the violence of Landor's political opinions.

to be put down as one of the subscribers to any work Dr. Parr might think fit to publish against him. Not unnaturally, Parr had at first a poor opinion of Warwickshire as compared to Norfolk. In a letter written at Norwich to a Warwickshire friend, he referred to it as "your senseless and almost worthless county." It was, he declared, "a foggy atmosphere for the intellect," the "Bœotia of England," and positively two centuries behind in civilisation. Later, he relented towards Hatton, where, he writes, "we have a good house, good port, good library, good company, good spirits, and good air"; and though he exchanged Hatton for Wadenhoe, in Northamptonshire, in 1789, he stipulated to be allowed to reside, as assistant curate, in the parsonage of Hatton, where he spent the last years of his life.[1] He added to the gaiety of the village by reviving old-time festivities; he even had a May-pole set up two hundred yards from his parsonage, and he was seen in his three-cornered hat personally superintending these May-games, with their music, dancing, and feasting. He was often to be seen, says Field, in a vivid sketch, "on the road from Hatton to Warwick, or from that town to Leamington, moving slowly along, the most grotesque figure imaginable, wrapped in an old blue cloak, with coarse worsted stockings, and one rusty spur; his head covered with a huge cauliflower wig, and a small cocked hat overtopping all; his servant preceding him about a dozen yards, either on foot or horseback." All his "immortality" to-day is this genial and grotesque figure, his personal peculiarities, for in all those eight enormous tomes, "those 5732 octavo pages" De Quincey makes merry over, there is not one vital page left behind him.

Some critic has said that no man can ever write well creatively of that in which in his early youth he had no knowledge. This is especially true of George Eliot, whose

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1 He died at Hatton Vicarage, March 6th, 1825.

work is valuable in proportion as it is made up of what she had seen and assimilated in childhood and early youth, and whose early reminiscences can be knocked out clean from the body of her work as we knock out fossils from a piece of limestone.

Within a day's walk from the farm-house where she was born are all the places linked with George Eliot's earliest stories in the *Scenes of Clerical Life;* for as she has admitted that there are portraits in this book ("but that was my first bit of art, and my hand was not well in"), so there are portraits and vignettes of North Warwickshire towns, villages, and churches. Looking up the short avenue of elms, across the park is seen the main front of Arbury Hall, "the castellated house of grey-tinted stone"; the Cheverel Manor of "Mr. Gilfil's Love Story." To the left, on regaining the carriage drive, on through the western entrance of the park—something over a mile—topping a hill, stands Astley Church—the "Knebley" of the story—the "wonderful little church, with a checkered pavement, which had once rung to the iron tread of military monks, with coats of arms in clusters on the lofty roof, marble warriors, and their wives without noses, occupying a large proportion of the area, and the twelve Apostles, with their heads very much on one side, holding didactic ribbons, painted in fresco on the walls."[1]

Upon a hill to the north of the Hall is Stockingford—"Paddiford"—while two miles away in the flat low-lying fields lies the town of Nuneaton, the "dreary prose" of "Milby," with its irregular suburb of Chilvers Coton, the "Shepperton" of the "Sad Fortunes of the Rev. Amos Barton." At Chilvers Coton we can easily recognise the stone church tower, "which looks at you through its intelligent eye—the clock"; and the little flight of steps,

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1 *George Eliot's Country*, by Edwin Rainbow. National Home Reading Union.

with their wooden handrail, leading to the school-children's gallery, is still intact. Nuneaton has increased from the "dingy town surrounded by flat fields, lopped elms, and sprawling, manufacturing villages," which crept on with their weaving-shops till they threatened to graft themselves on the town. The name "Milby" is doubtless from an old corn-mill (Milby Mill) on the river Anker; Dempster's House,[1] in Orchard Street, "an old-fashioned house, with an over-hanging upper story," can be seen to-day in Church Street.

In March, 1820, when Mary Ann Evans was four months old, her family moved to Griff House on the Arbury estate, which stands on the main road from Bedworth to Nuneaton. It is a picturesque two-storied building, built of dark-red bricks, and covered with ivy. It has been supposed that Griff House is the "Hall Farm" of *Adam Bede*, but it is doubtful if there is a complete original of Hall Farm. "But so far as it is capable of being localised, the Hall Farm is regarded as an idealisation of Corley Hall, a well-known house about five miles to the north-west of Coventry." The external appearance of the "Hall Farm" is held to justify this view of the question.

At the back of Griff House are paths leading to the "Round Pool," and the "rookery elms" of the poems:—

> "Whose tall old trunks had each a grassy mound."

> "And here the Lady-fingers in deep shade;
> Here sloping toward the moat the rushes grew,
> The large to split for pith, the small to braid;
> While over all the dark rooks cawing flew."

The moat, with its rush-grown sides bordering one end of the field, formed part of the moat of Sudeley Castle, which Cromwell razed to the ground with his cannon planted in the "Battery Field," the other side of "the

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1 No. 35, Church Street.

Hollows"—Griff Hollows, a picturesque depression less than a mile away from the farm, which is described as "The Red Deep" in the *Mill on the Floss.*

Here, in this quiet and rural district of the coal regions of Warwickshire, amid scenes and scenery which indelibly impressed themselves upon her mind, to be afterwards reproduced with vivid fidelity, Miss Evans grew up. "Life, however, was somewhat circumscribed, and it was with pleasure she went with her father, in the spring of 1841—shortly after she had come of age—to a semi-rural house in Foleshill Road, outside Coventry."[1] Though the Foleshill Road home was broken up by the death of her father in 1849, after an absence abroad she returned to the neighbourhood of Coventry and to "her beloved Warwickshire lanes and canals, and flat, damp lands, and stayed with her friends, until, at the age of thirty-two, she made her first definite change in life, and removed to London."

In a chapter, "Looking Back," in her *Theophrastus Such*, which has great biographical value, George Eliot tells us, under a thin disguise, how as a child she used to drive about Warwickshire with her father (whom she transforms into a clergyman, though he was in reality a land agent). Thus the general features of North Warwickshire must have been familiar to her,[2] and, like Theophrastus, she retained an intimate feeling for the quiet influence of "the midland villages and markets," the tree-studded hedgerows, the flat fields, where the "heavy barges seem in the distance to float mysteriously among the rushes and the feathered grass"—influences, in short, of our midland scenery, "from the tops of the elms down to the buttercups and the little wayside vetches."[3] In

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1 *Literary Geography.* William Sharp.

2 A fine description of the scenery of Warwickshire forms part of the introductory chapter of *Felix Holt.* The Treby Magna of that novel is the "city of the three tall spires."

3 *Theophrastus Such.*

all her "years spent in or near London (with her brief residences abroad), George Eliot was never in mind and spirit long away from the county of her early life, love, and imaginative and sympathetic intimacy."[1]

M. JOURDAIN.

1 *Literary Geography.* William Sharp.

NOTES ON WARWICKSHIRE MINTS

IF we could unravel the web which time has woven around the history of Celtic Britain, we should probably find a higher civilization, a people imbued with great engineering capabilities, and an instinct for commercial habits which is little imagined by those who give a passing thought to the subject to-day.

The coinage of Britain a century before the Christian era had been of the character of that of Philip of Macedon. The dies probably were made abroad, but that would only prove the commercial intercourse. When we consider that the tin of these islands was the supply of the world, we begin to realize that there must have been a considerable shipping intercourse. As but little of this subject can be woven into an article on Mints and Coins of Warwickshire, we must proceed to the later, the Teuton period, when this became a shire. Under Offa, Mercia had risen to a rank of the first importance in the Saxon (Teuton) kingdoms of this southern part of the island. Offa had reformed the coinage of the world by his instituting the coinage of pennies.

The penny derived its name from the head of the king by whose authority the coin was struck being represented on its obverse; "pen" meaning "a head." Offa devised that one side should be occupied by the representation of the authority for the issue, and that the other should have the name of the mint-master to whom he had delegated the authority to strike from his die the coin. He made it a provision that he to whom this right was delegated should be responsible with his life

that the coin should be of a certain weight and purity of metal. The weight was to be the two hundred and fortieth of a pound of silver, the standard of purity to be as it is at the present day. Its assay was in the proportion of 11 ozs. 2 dwts. fine to 18 dwts. alloy to the pound troy. The reverse bore some Christian emblem, with the name of the moneyer and of the mint at which it was struck.

The capital of Offa's kingdom of Mercia was at Tamworth, where his coins were struck. Later in the Saxon time coins were struck at Warwick, and there they continued to be coined to a later date than at Tamworth.

Coins are the illustrations of time's history, as Mr. W. J. Andrew has said, and to consider them as such we may get considerable enlightenment on the progressive history of this country.

The first silver coin of Warwick and Tamworth was the penny of Offa, King of Mercia. Tamworth belonged to the Crown before the Conquest, and continued so until Henry III. Ethelfleda died there in 922; Edward the Elder was her brother, and he took possession of it on her death; he died in 927. His son, King Athelstan, when at Tamworth, received Sihtric, King of the Northumbrians (and formerly King of Dublin), and gave him his sister in marriage. Athelstan's moneyer was Manna, the town being spelt on his coins Tomiear Dge, equivalent to Tomaworthing, the "o" in the first syllable later becoming "a"—the weorthig, or town, on the Tame (*Num. Chr.*, N.S., 1885, p. 136). Athelstan is variously styled on his coins Rex, but rarely, as on the Tamworth coin, "Rex Saxorum," although he frequently was styled "Rex totius Britanniæ," although he never actually ruled the whole kingdom. He was succeeded by his half-brother Eadmund in 941, and although he was at Tamworth when the town was stormed by Ostmen, under Aulof, no coins of his are known to be struck here. Nor are any known of Eadred and Eadwig, unless it is the one that

Ruding noted with the letters T O (Ruding's *Coinage*, vol. i., p. 129).

Eadgar, who was reigning over the country between the Thames and the Firth of Forth, became, on the death of his brother Eadwig, the first monarch who reigned over the entire kingdom. (Tamworth mint was then presided over by a moneyer, Deorvlf.) Succeeded by his son, then only thirteen years old, nearly one hundred moneyers are known during this short reign, and Manna again appears as the name of the moneyer. After this reign his name disappears, though coins continued to be struck here with intermission until the reign of Henry I.

In the reign of Eadweard we find the first traces of Warwick mint, and though not established so early as at Tamworth, it attained to greater importance and continued to a later date. The first moneyer was Ozmer, the town being called Werin, an abbreviation of Waeringwic. Eadweard being murdered in 978, Æthelred, his son, only ten years of age, succeeded. The Danes, taking advantage of the weakness of his Government, extorted £167,000. His mints were more numerous than those of any preceding monarch.

Warwick appears to have issued nineteen varieties of coin, and had at least eight moneyers. From Tamworth were issued eleven varieties by at least five moneyers. Canute had a large number of mints. His coins are light. He is generally styled "Rex Anglorum." Under his rule Warwick had at least five moneyers, and twenty-one distinct varieties were issued.

Harold, the son of Canute, succeeded his father, and during his four years' reign nine varieties were issued by four moneyers at Warwick, and two varieties by one Ansanl at Tamworth. In Harthacnut's short period, three issues are known by two moneyers at Warwick, and no specimen of Tamworth. On his death, Edward the Confessor succeeded. Seventeen varieties from seven moneyers came from Warwick, and seven varieties from

four moneyers from Tamworth. Lufinc seems to have been a moneyer at Warwick in Edward's reign, and a gold coin found on the site of St. Clement's Church, Worcester, is thought to have been a specimen struck from a die intended for silver pennies, as there was no regular Saxon gold coinage.

The best and most complete collection of Anglo-Saxon coins is to be found in the cabinets at Stockholm. In 1846 Bror Emil Hildebrand issued a work on the Anglo-Saxon coins in the Royal Swedish Cabinet of Medals, since which the collection has more than doubled. In 1881 a new descriptive list was issued; it is from this that much of our knowledge is gained. It must be borne in mind that Sweden had always been on friendly terms with England, but the hoards in Sweden make it look as if Swedish warriors took part in Norse and Danish raids.

Coins were struck at Coventry during the reigns of the Lancastrian kings and of Edward IV.

S. S. STANLEY.

THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF BIRMINGHAM

THERE can be no doubt that the great city of Birmingham is of Anglo-Saxon origin. It has been, by some, ascribed to Roman times, and identified with the station of Bremenium. But that was absurd, and even were it possible, it is not easy to see how it could have concerned Birmingham, the original site of which is not within two miles of any Roman road. William Hutton, in one of the wildest flights of fancy ever indulged in by an archæologist, declares, on the contrary, that the town was celebrated for its metal workers even in Celtic times, that it may have furnished the scythe-armed chariots of Boadicea, and that the Romans purposely diverted their road from it on account of the dread which it inspired. There is, indeed, a remarkable deviation from the straight line of the road, but it must have been clear to anyone who ever sought the reason dispassionately that it was to be found in the fact that the valley of the Rea was so flat, swampy, and liable to floods, that no road across it could have been maintained without constant labour and cost.

The name of Birmingham has been spelt in nearly one hundred and fifty different ways, but all this orthographic licence leads to two only possible significations. The early form, Bermingham, would undoubtedly mean the "ham" (home or settlement) of the "ing" (or tribe) of Beorm, Berm, or Breme. The later form, which may be represented by Bromicham, does not occur until later by

some centuries, and doubtless arose from the Mercian habit of sounding the "g" soft. It would probably mean "the village of the settlement in the broom," and has a certain plausibility from the rather frequent local occurrence of such names as Bromwich, Bromsgrove, etc. It is, however, much too late to be genuine; and, indeed, probability would rather point to the other names being derived from the Bermings and not from the broom tree. The still later debased form of "Brummagem" is simply a vulgarism, and as it is apparently only used in contempt, it may be passed by with the same feeling.

To fix a date for the foundation of Birmingham must, of course, be matter of pure conjecture. Yet it may be conjectured within limits which are narrow and present no improbability. The great forests of Arden and Wyre were impassable barriers to the Saxon invaders for many years. A Saxon settlement in open heathland and within a mile or two of the farther edge of Arden would have been quite impossible until, about the beginning of the seventh century, that British stronghold had been outflanked both north and south and rendered untenable. Neither is it likely that the settlement of such a spot as Birmingham would be long delayed when once the country was opened. It was, indeed, an ideal "ham" for the people of a nation who were farmers even more than they were soldiers. The little river Rea would furnish water for defence, and, later on, for working mills. Its overflow would assure rich pasture for the oxen on which Saxon prosperity was absolutely dependent. On three sides gentle slopes offered themselves to arable culture, and the great forest was near enough, not only for fuel, but for hunting, which was then so necessary as a means of supplying food. We may, perhaps, without overmuch presumption, imagine Birmingham to have been a new place when Penda, the last pagan Saxon monarch, came to the throne of Mercia; and to have received Christianity as a consequence of his overthrow and death at the battle

of the Winwoedfield in 655. In support of the views expressed, it may be pointed out that scarcely a vestige of Celtic nomenclature of inhabited places is to be found in the district; all is Saxon. The nature of the country surrounding the infant settlement of Birmingham is sufficiently indicated by the local place-names. There is little in the immediate neighbourhood which points to woodland; but an unbroken circle of "heaths" surrounds the place. A green, quiet valley, with an abundance of water and the richest of pasture land; wild moorland all around, and in the dim distance the outlines of hills, pleasant rather than lofty, and fringed with woods;—such was the site which modern Birmingham has effectually succeeded in covering with bricks and mortar.

During the Saxon period Birmingham was probably completely insignificant. Not a single vestige of anything Anglo-Saxon has ever been found in or about it, and its name might reasonably seem to be its only Saxon inheritance. Yet perhaps this is not so. Birmingham has always had its own distinctive character, preserved, no doubt, by long ages of comparative seclusion, easily traceable in the thread of its history, much more perceptible years ago than in these all-levelling days, and characteristically Saxon in its blunt, brusque honesty and unadorned earnestness of purpose.

Not a single undoubted reference to Birmingham of any kind can be found in Saxon times. The earliest mention of the place is in *Domesday Book*, and runs:—

"Richard holds of William (Fitz Ansculf) four hides in Bermingeham. The arable employs six ploughs, one is in the demesne. There are five villeins and four bordars with two ploughs. Wood half a mile long and two furlongs broad. It was and is worth twenty shillings. Ulwine held it freely in the time of King Edward."

There is no mention of church or mill, though in the same record Aston, then a much more important place, is credited with both. The insignificance of Birmingham is, indeed, proved by the fact that in the Survey it is

reckoned as inferior, not only to Aston, but to Edgbaston or Erdington.

The parish of Birmingham, and all those adjacent to it, formed part of the enormous possessions bestowed by William the Conqueror on his follower, William Fitz Ansculf, who appears to have enjoyed his good fortune but a little time, and to have died without male issue. Through the female line the estate rapidly passed to the Paganell, and then to the De Someri family, the principal seat being always Dudley Castle. Meanwhile, the vast estate had, of necessity, been sub-divided for feudal purposes, and Birmingham had fallen to the lot of a family which assumed its name. At what time exactly this took place it is not easy to see, but in the reign of Henry II. Gervase Paganell certifies that Peter de Bermingham held it of him *de veteri feoffamento*. A William can be traced earlier, and possibly the Richard mentioned in the Survey may have been of the same stock, but Peter is said to have been *dapifer*, or server, to Paganell. The family thus introduced to the lordship of the little manor was destined to rule it for nearly five centuries. It settled itself in the moated manor house which the Saxon lords had probably inhabited, and, although perhaps often rebuilt, this remained almost to the end its home. It has been called by Dugdale and others a castle, but could have had no claim to the title. Its position was indefensible, and it was doubtless of wood at the beginning and half-timbered at the end. Towards the end of the Bermingham holding it had become ruinous, and was untenanted. A building occupying its place survived as a thread mill, then as a casting shop, until 1815, when it was finally demolished. Its site is now occupied by the enormous fruit and vegetable markets of the city, and its only memorial is in the names—Moat Row and Moat Lane—of adjacent streets.

The family of the de Berminghams, although it never

MONUMENTS OF THE DE BERMINGHAMS IN ST. MARTIN'S CHURCH.
(The oldest work of men's hands in Birmingham.)

attained to greatness, appears to have been able and distinguished. They obtained for Birmingham a weekly market and two annual fairs, and must certainly have built the Norman church, of which some few remnants were discovered when the parish church was rebuilt. A younger brother of Peter de Bermingham appears to have gone to seek fortune with Strongbow in Ireland, and to have achieved his end. Indeed, as Baron of Athenry and first Earl of Louth he raised the fortunes of the younger branch to a pitch never attained by the elder. One of the Lords of Birmingham adhered to the cause of De Montfort, and was apparently one of those who said, when their leader counselled their flight, "If you must die, we do not care to live." His estate was naturally confiscated, but was restored to his son. Another fought under Edward I. in Gascony, and was taken prisoner. Another raised and equipped within the county a force of 400 foot soldiers in 1324, "to attend the King (Edward II.) into Gascoin." This one was summoned to Parliament as a peer by the title of Lord William de Bermingham, but the title was not continued. Sir Fulk de Bermingham, who fought in France under Edward III., also attended Parliament, but as M.P. for Herts and Warwick. In later generations the old fighting stock seems to have become exhausted. The succession to the manor was disputed, and it was held by female and collateral representatives for some time. The last male of the line was Edward de Bermingham. This man of mysterious and most unhappy fortunes succeeded to the estate at the age of three. He was fatherless, and those who managed his affairs and himself had a free course for their plots. The story told by Dugdale—that he was the victim of a charge of felony, infamously devised by John Dudley—is both obscure and confused; but it appears certain that he was dispossessed of his property and confined in the Tower, illegally and cruelly. The Dudley in question must have been the one known as the "Quondam Lord," not the

Duke of Northumberland. There are grave reasons for suspecting the complicity of the Holte family in the matter. It is, however, certain that the Duke of Northumberland ultimately gained the estate by nefarious means, and there is some satisfaction in the thought that the man who had chiefly profited by this injustice enjoyed his ill-gotten gain but a few years, being beheaded in 1553. The whole of his property then fell to the Crown, by which the manor was granted to the Marrams, and passed from them to other undistinguished and unconnected families. The last of the de Berminghams survived his imprisonment but a very few years, and left no male issue. The manorial rights were finally purchased by the Corporation, and Birmingham is lord of its own manor.

The mediæval annals of Birmingham are scanty in the extreme. It stood on no high-road, its river was utterly unnavigable, it had no strong place and no defences, and no ecclesiastical establishment of any importance. It courted no attack, even in the stormiest times, for it could neither be defended nor held; and it possessed no striking attraction. Under the quiet sway of its lords, with whom no dispute appears to have arisen, it seems gradually and imperceptibly to have grown in wealth and importance. The Norman church was replaced, in the middle of the thirteenth century, by a fine Early Decorated edifice. Dugdale chronicles its wealth of stained-glass, its wall-paintings had left some traces when the church had to be rebuilt, and four stately monuments, doubtless to members of the de Bermingham family, but now destitute of all inscription, still remain to it.

For centuries we have no account whatever of Birmingham, except from the legal documents which have been preserved; yet it is clear that during this period the town was, from whatever cause, fast growing in wealth and importance. In the fourteenth century the Mother Church was endowed with three chantries, and

another church, a free chapel, was endowed in connection with the Priory of St. Thomas the Apostle. The Priory itself was of earlier date, and its endowments, which were ample, can be traced back to 1285. But the Priory, for some reason, never seems to have grown into an important, or even a well-conducted, establishment. Long before the Dissolution it had ceased to be a priory of Augustinian friars, and had become a hospital with a church attached, and the presentations to the chaplaincy or wardenship were thenceforward always made by the lords of the manor.

The foundation of the Gild of the Holy Cross in 1392 is another proof of the growing fortunes of Birmingham. Indeed, this was not the first of its kind: already in Deritend, which, although technically distinct and, indeed, in another parish, was always really the same town, the Gild of St. John the Baptist had been founded. Of this little is known, except that it appears to have been well endowed, and that it was actually maintaining a Grammar School at the time of its iniquitous suppression. The Gild of the Holy Cross became an institution of some importance. Practically, it absorbed the Government of the town, had its own hall, with an organ, its own garden, its clerk, bellman, and midwife. It thus comprised the greater part of the governmental, charitable, and social life of the town. That Birmingham was not a large town may be inferred from the fact that a single institution could absorb so much of the public duty, and also from the fact that there were no trade gilds. But the very considerable and repeated endowments in land and money given to the ecclesiastical and charitable institutions of the town, often by a long line of members of the same family, prove equally conclusively that it was a prosperous and somewhat wealthy place, with a strong sense of personal responsibility and of public duty.

There is one other event dating from Plantagenet times which is too characteristic and interesting to be

omitted. The inhabitants of Deritend, or that part of Birmingham which lay beyond the Rea, suffered under a peculiar inconvenience. The Rea was, unfortunately, a parish boundary, and although the town possessed a handsome parish church only about a few hundred yards from the river, yet the clergy there owed no duty to and received no benefit from their near neighbours and fellow-townsmen of Deritend. These latter had to go to their parish church of Aston to be christened, married, or buried. The distance was inconvenient, perhaps three miles; the roads were foul, and the river had a habit of suddenly rising and making the journey impossible. They, therefore, first of all built for themselves a chapel, and then, in 1381, entered into an agreement with those concerned to acquire the right of appointing their own chaplain, "lest it should befall that the infants dwelling in the said far-off towns or hamlets, for want of the rite of baptism might perish for ever." The right of popular appointment of a clergyman is a very unusual one, and in this case it was maintained until late in the nineteenth century—until, indeed, the anomaly of such an election, contested mainly in public-houses, and by those who never entered the church, became too glaring to be tolerated. The Chapel of St. John, Deritend, beside being almost the earliest example of a self-governed church, has another claim to fame. It was almost certainly the place of early worship of John Rogers, who became afterward so widely and honourably known as the compiler of the first absolutely complete English Bible (the "Matthew's" Bible), and also as the first martyr under the unhappy reign of Mary Tudor.

During this, which may be called the absolutely undescribed portion of the history of Birmingham, and for which we have no other guide than the mere chance relics of documentary evidence, two facts at least appear to emerge from the obscurity. The action of the town in the matters arising from the troubles of the priory,

THE "OLD CROWN HOUSE," DERITEND.

and still more in the almost unique circumstances attending the foundation of the Chapel of St. John, Deritend, proves that there was even then no lack of intelligent public spirit. That the town had also some mechanical skill is equally clear from the fact that in 1498 there was in Birmingham an organ-builder, who charged the abbey at Halesowen with the then respectable sum of ten shillings for repairs to their instrument.

With Tudor times light begins to dawn upon Birmingham, and we have at length some guide as to the appearance and condition of the town. Leland, chaplain to Henry VIII., had been appointed by him King's Antiquary, and in the course of his six years' perambulations, which were productive of inestimable stores of knowledge, he comes to Birmingham in 1538. He says:

"I came through a pretty Street, or ever I entred into Bermingham-Towne. This street, as I remember, is called Dirtey. In it dwell Smithes and Cutlers, and there is a Brooke that divideth this Street from Bermingham, and is one Hamlett or Member, belonging to the Parish thereby. There is at the end of Dirtey a propper Chappell, and Mansion House of timber, hard on the Ripe, as the Brooke runneth downe, and as I went through the Ford by the Bridge, the Water ranne downe on the right Hand, and a few miles lower goeth into Tame, *ripa dextra*. This brooke, above Dirtey, breaketh in two armes, that a litle beneath the bridge close again. This brooke riseth, as some say, four or five miles above Bermingham, towards Black Hilles.

"The Beauty of Bermingham, a good Markett towne in the extreame parts of Warwikeshire, is one Street going up alonge almost from the left Ripe of the Brooke up a meane hill, by the length of a Quarter of a Mile. I saw but one Parroch Church in the Towne. There be many Smithes in the Towne that use to make Knives and all mannour of cuttinge Tooles, and many Lorimers that make Bittes, and a great many Naylors. Soe that a great part of the Towne is maintained by Smithes, who have their iron and sea-cole out of Staffordshire."

The "brooke" which Leland describes (and, indeed, it is little better) is the Rea. "The lively, tripping Rea," Drayton calls it, and he is one of the very few who have ever had a good word for Birmingham's singularly insignificant river, which is yet beyond doubt the original

cause of the city's being. The street he calls "Dirtey" may, indeed, often have deserved to be so called, but it was really Deritend, and he probably hastily took that name for Dirty End. It is pleasant to note Leland's eulogy of the street, which still, thanks to the public spirit of Mr. Toulmin Smith, possesses its "mansion house of timber," but his description of the busy anvils of multitudinous smiths comes as a certain surprise. Nothing is apparent in the mediæval documents of the time which would have led to such a conclusion. The original trade of the town was rather that of tanning, and many towns must have been far more favourably situated for the procuring of "iron and sea-cole out of Staffordshire." Fifty years later the description of Leland is more than confirmed by that of Camden, who speaks of

". . . Bremicham, swarming with inhabitants, and echoing with the noise of Anvils (for here are great numbers of Smiths, and of other Artificers in Iron and Steel, whose performances in that way are greatly admired both at home and abroad). The lower part of the Town is very watery. The upper part riseth with abundance of handsome buildings."

We find then, not a little to our surprise, that by the beginning of the sixteenth century the town must have already become exactly what it is now (though on a vastly smaller scale): a busy, crowded, manufacturing town, mainly occupied with goods in metal.

It is in Tudor times, also, that we have our first careful survey of Birmingham. There are, in fact, three, but the most elaborate is that made when the treason of the Duke of Northumberland, in endeavouring to place Lady Jane Grey upon the throne, led to the forfeiture of his estates to the Crown. This was begun in August, 1553, and is the more helpful because it has been published with minute care by Mr. W. B. Bickley and Mr. Joseph Hill, the best living authorities on the antiquities of Birmingham. The number of tenants on the manor was about a hundred and twenty, and the holdings of

some were of considerable extent. The document gives little assistance to any judgment of the population, but its details as to holdings have enabled Mr. Hill to draw a trustworthy map of the town in the reign of Philip and Mary. There may, perhaps, have been a score of inhabited streets at that time, and the water-power was evidently utilised to a large extent. Apart from the information given by Leland, Camden, and the Survey before mentioned, our knowledge of Birmingham during Tudor times is of the vaguest character. The town had now lost in succession its gild, its priory, and its ancient manorial family. It must have been growing in importance, for a chance notice alludes to it as "one of the fayrest and most proffittable townes to the Kinge's highness in all the Shyre," but it was growing in a happy obscurity and freedom, uninfluenced by any connection whatever with greatness either in Church or State.

The circumstances of Birmingham were such as would be sure to bring it into prominence in the stormy days of the Stuarts. Whatever progress it had made—and it must now have been of considerable importance as a manufacturing town—had been made in complete independence. The absence of any large house or important family in the neighbourhood is singular. The town, now rapidly growing, had managed its own affairs without any overshadowing influence whose patronage or oppression could make or mar its fortunes. So long as the gild lasted it had some kind of corporate government, but the two had disappeared together. The only authority was now the simple Manorial Court, and the only vestige of former corporate action was the Grammar School of King Edward VI., endowed with such part of the public property despoiled by Henry VIII. as the ruling powers under Edward VI. had for shame's sake returned for the purpose of education. Happily, the endowment was chosen in land, and the prosperity of Birmingham has far more than repaired the ravages of Henry. But the

Grammar School at this time was a very unimportant institution, and it is likely that the life of the town was too stringently practical to allow of much care for learning. The greatest people in the district would be the Holtes, who had been for centuries large landowners, and had risen to greater prominence in the person of Thomas Holte, Chief Justice of Wales, and one of the assistants of Henry VIII. in the dissolution of the religious houses. The grandson of this man, another Thomas Holte, owned large estates in Duddeston and Aston. He was one of the first to purchase a baronetcy from James I., and in 1618 supplied the lack of any great house by beginning the erection of Aston Hall. This is certainly one of the finest examples of Jacobean architecture existing, and it is a subject of legitimate pride that it should have been saved from the destroying hands of the suburban builder by public effort. It is now, although not in Birmingham, the property of that city, and is maintained with jealous care, with some small remnant of its once noble park surviving to intimate its former state. Unfortunately, the Holte family was far from popular. Justice Holte had been prime mover in the theft of the property of the gild, a misdeed for which there was no excuse, as the objects had been distinctly civic and charitable, and had possessed no more of a religious character than was attached to all public work whatsoever in the Middle Ages. The builder of Aston Hall has by no means a pleasing physiognomy in the portrait of him which survives. He had ruthlessly absorbed a public highway in the enclosing of his park, and had sued for pardon, which was only granted on the condition of his maintaining others instead. He had been so arrogant and cruel a father as to draw on himself the remonstrances of Charles I. If neither art nor history are favourable to his character, rumour has been yet more unkind, and has left him under the charge, neither proved nor disproved, of having cloven his cook's head in his anger at a late dinner. A wealthy

Aston Hall.

and powerful neighbour such as this must have been a thorn in the side of Birmingham, and the temper shown in the Civil War may have found a partial cause much nearer to hand than the King's Court. Within seven years of the building of Aston Hall the animosity which had been smouldering burst into sudden flame, and Aston Hall still bears the marks of Birmingham's anger. On Sunday evening, October 16th, 1642, King Charles arrived at Aston Hall on his way to the relief of Banbury. He slept there that night, and left behind him a fine cabinet which is still preserved at the Hall as a memorial of his stay. A week later the Battle of Edge Hill was fought, and the quarrel was definitely committed to the arbitrament of the sword. During the struggle which followed, Birmingham for the first time achieved notoriety. Clarendon speaks of it as

> ". . . of as great fame for hearty, wilful, affected disloyalty to the King as any place in England. . . . a town generally wicked, . . . declaring a more peremptory malice to His Majesty than any other place."

These are strong words, but they are fairly justified from Clarendon's point of view. The town had met the demand for ship money with only a mild remonstrance, and a plea to be let off half the payment on account of a recent visitation of the plague; but the conjunction of the King and the Holtes appears to have been too much for its patience, and it espoused the side of the Parliament with a zest which never slackened. It seized the King's baggage and plate as he left Aston on his way to Edge Hill. It cut off every body of the King's troops which came within its power, and sent its prisoners to Coventry.

In April, 1642, occurred the only instance of actual warfare known to have taken place within the boundaries of Birmingham. Prince Rupert, with two thousand men, desired passage through the town. According to the Royalist party, he asked for this, and promised that no harm should be done by his troops if they were not

interfered with. The point is doubtful. There seems no actual reason why he should have marched through at all, and, considering the reputation they had already acquired, the people of Birmingham might well have doubted his pacific intentions. At any rate, they decided on armed resistance. A small earthwork was thrown up at that point where Leland had entered into the "pretty street called Dirtey," and the passage was desperately contested. Ultimately the much superior forces of Rupert gained the day; the town was pillaged and set on fire, eighty houses being burnt, and a number of the inhabitants put to the sword. The loss on the King's side was probably greater than on that of the townspeople, but on neither side was it heavy. In men of note, however, Rupert suffered heavily, Sir William Ayres, Lord John Stewart, and the Earl of Denbigh being killed. The skirmish—for it was scarcely more—created great excitement at the time, and no less than three accounts in pamphlet form were hurried from the Press. One of these is from a Royalist standpoint; the others are Parliamentarian; and all three are vivid examples of impassioned and picturesque partisanship. Prince Rupert's "barbarous and inhumane cruelties" are denounced by the sufferers in immoderate terms; but candour must admit that Rupert did no more than was customarily done under similar circumstances by both sides and on many occasions.

With passion aroused to so great a pitch, the safety of Aston Hall became very precarious. In December, 1643, Sir Thomas Holte applied for a garrison, and received forty musketeers. But this only precipitated the catastrophe. In the last week of December, having obtained the assistance of a few soldiers and of a small cannon, the people of Birmingham attacked the Hall, 1,200 strong. The place was gallantly defended for two days, but was then surrendered, the assailants having lost sixty and the defenders twelve men. The marks of the

cannon balls are still visible, and the staircase balustrade through which one crashed has always been left unrepaired as a witness to the fight. Sir Thomas Holte was imprisoned, and half ruined by pillage and confiscations. He died some years before the Restoration came to revive the fortunes of the Royalists, and lies at Aston with a pompous epitaph, in which alone are discoverable the abundant virtues which his life had so completely hidden.

The active share of Birmingham in the Civil War may be said here to end, although in what was then the neighbouring village of Edgbaston Colonel Fox—"Tinker Fox," as his opponents commonly called him—had his stronghold, and raided the holdings of the Royalists on every side. His portrait may have been painted by hatred rather than by candour, and—as a matter of fact—the "Tinker" seems to have been a man of fairly good family; but under his rule the church of Edgbaston disappeared so completely, that for many years the parish had no other place of worship than a school-room.

The passions of the Civil War have left an ineradicable mark on Birmingham. From this time date the marked distrust and hostility with which the city is even yet regarded by a certain class. Among the bequests of the time even the contemptuous and vulgar nickname of "Brummagem" may be reckoned. The staple trade of the place was one which has long deserted it—that of cutlery; and, as a branch of this, sword blades were made to a great extent. Even before the war this manufacture had excited the jealousy of the London cutlers, who complained that the swords supplied by a certain Benjamin Stone "are bromedgham blades . . . no way serviceable or fit for His Majesty's store." The King's forces would, notwithstanding, have been very glad to get a supply of these blades later on, but the Birmingham people would not supply them on any terms, though they are said to have sent fifteen thousand to

the forces of the Earl of Essex. After the Restoration it was, of course, open to anyone to express his scorn of Birmingham, and the name of the town, which had really had but small part in the war, and had, perhaps, at first been moved rather by hatred of the Holtes than of the King, became a sort of synonym for falseness. "From a Brumicham saint," etc., etc.; "*Libera nos*," says an old Cavalier litany; "Whigs and Brumighams with shams and stories," appear in a ballad; "Hardened Brumicham rascals prate," in one of the prologues of the estimable D'Urfey; while even Emerson declares that "the manners and customs of society are artificial—made-up men with made-up manners; and thus the whole is Birminghamised."

In all the history of Birmingham there is no incident so remarkable as this—that its character, as estimated by the world at large, is based simply on a prejudice evoked by the passions of the Civil Wars of the seventeenth century. The case stands so, for there is really no foundation whatever for the charges so commonly brought against the town. Let us examine them. They are, briefly stated, that Birmingham is the headquarters of the coining of base money, that its ordinary manufactures are also in their degree shams—flimsy and worthless imitations of good work—and that the population is given to discontent and disloyalty. There has, no doubt, been a great amount of false coining in Birmingham, but is not this the result of its peculiar trades rather than of any peculiar obliquity? Birmingham is, and for several centuries has been, the home of the smaller industries in metal. Nowhere else could the coiner obtain so well all the materials he required without exciting suspicion, or carry on his evil trade with so little outward appearance of mischief. Is it imagined that all who coined false money in Birmingham were natives of the place? As for the charge of specially flimsy manufacture, it is so far from being true that it is really the contrary of the truth.

The "article de Paris" springs from a race of somewhat lighter touch than our Saxon artisans can boast. There are faults, no doubt, in Birmingham metal-work, be it of gold or iron, but those who know it would consider the failings to lie in the direction of tasteless solidity rather than of flimsiness. The last charge is also completely untrue. Since the time of the Civil Wars Birmingham has been conspicuously free from any tendency to disloyalty. It is, indeed, a remarkable fact that its riots—of which, it must be confessed, there have been too many—have usually been in defence of "the Protestant religion as by law established."

The latter half of the seventeenth century was in Birmingham a period of great but quiet development. A terrible visitation of the plague in 1665 struck down more of the inhabitants than the singularly small churchyard could possibly contain, and the bodies of the dead were heaped in a pit at Ladywood, far from the limits of the town as it then was, and long known as the Pest Ground. Beyond this there are but two matters of importance to chronicle—a very rapid growth in trade, and a growth still more marked in the influence of dissent. As to the former, the colossal fortune amassed by the Jennens family is evidence sufficient. The gun trade also, previously unknown here, was introduced by the influence of Sir Richard Newdigate, M.P. for Warwickshire, and by 1689 the Birmingham manufacturers could contract to supply two hundred muskets per month to the army of William III. Articles of a more fanciful and artistic character than before were also being made, and in numbers so great as to make the trade already famous, for a traveller admiring at Milan some "fine works of rock crystal, swords, heads for canes, snuff-boxes, and other fine works of steel," remarks that nevertheless they could have been found "cheaper and better at Birmingham." The marked growth in the influence of dissenting forms of religious belief was the direct consequence of the law

of the period. The "Five Mile Act," passed in 1665, and prohibiting any dissenting preacher from living within five miles of any corporate town, made of Birmingham a perfect haven of refuge—for, notwithstanding its wealth and importance, the town had no higher officers than the ordinary officials of a common manor. Long after this time Hutton writes:—

"Birmingham, exclusive of her market, ranks among the very lowest order of townships; every petty village claims the honour of being a constablewick—we are no more."

In 1716 the inhabitants petitioned for a Corporation, on the ground—

". . . That Birmingham is, of late years, become very populous, from its great increase of trade; is much superior to any town in the county, and but little inferior to any inland town in the kingdom; that it is governed only by a constable, and enjoys no more privileges than a village."

As a matter of fact, Birmingham had to wait one hundred and thirty-two years more for a corporation, and flourished exceedingly notwithstanding. One reason may be that if dignity were lacking, freedom was not. Even the lord of the manor was but the absentee recipient of certain rents, and it would be impossible to imagine a town more entirely self-governed. Under these circumstances, it is no wonder that the persecuted teachers of dissent flocked to the place. Twelve of them, mostly ejected clergymen, at once took refuge here, and so soon as the Toleration Act of 1689 permitted the erection of meeting-houses they began to appear. The Catholics, in their turn, took advantage of Stuart favour to erect in Birmingham a church of some importance. The general feeling of the population, however, seems to have been little favourable even to the dissenters and violently hostile to the Catholics, whose church was twice attacked within a few years of its erection, and on the last occasion so utterly destroyed that not a vestige of it remained. Among the

wealthier and more intelligent part of the population, dissent, preached by men who had proved their sincerity by their sufferings, soon grew into a preponderating force. But the more thoughtless and inflammable section remained orthodox, and in 1715 the High Church teaching of Dr. Sacheverell fired them with the idea that the Church was in danger, and led them to a riot, in which one meeting-house was completely demolished, while another was only saved by a subterfuge. On the other hand, the handsome church of St. Philip, now the Cathedral Church, was begun on the highest point in the town in 1711, and was provided with a churchyard of superb dimensions, now the finest open space Birmingham possesses. The beneficent charity of the Blue Coat School was founded at about the same time, and adjoins the churchyard of St. Philip's. It still occupies the original site, though not the original building, and in conservative Birmingham the boys and girls still wear the fashion of dress which was common nearly two hundred years ago.

It is natural that the latter part of the eighteenth century, with its wild outbursts of political feeling, its momentous events, and its vast advances in science and mechanics, should make history with force and rapidity in Birmingham. It does so, indeed, to such an extent that the subject becomes unmanageable within the limits allotted to this sketch. The field is too large to be harvested. The memories of Samuel Johnson and of William Hutton, the lurid tragedy of the great Riots, the extraordinary congregation of talent known as the Lunar Society, and the incalculable services rendered to mankind by Boulton, Watt, or Murdoch, would each form the appropriate subject of a monograph of greater extent than the present one. The impossibility of dealing with such topics on an adequate scale within our limits must be obvious, and the most that can be done is to chronicle them in the barest outline.

The printing press was late in its introduction to

Birmingham, and nothing bearing a Birmingham imprint previous to 1717 has been discovered, though as early as 1642 a London almanack had been issued "calculated exactly for the faire and populous Towne of Birmicham in Warwickshire." Samuel Johnson's translation of Lobo's *Voyage to Abyssinia* was both written and printed in Birmingham in 1732-35, and at about the same time the first local newspaper was issued. William Hutton paid his first visit to Birmingham, as a runaway apprentice, in 1741. He published in 1781 his *History of Birmingham*, a work of highest value as the first attempt at local history, though as an archæologist its author was more enthusiastic than trustworthy. His other works, especially his *Autobiography*, reveal a strongly marked and singular character: grave, practical, obstinate, and absolutely material; but expressing itself with such graphic and native force as to become an actual power in literature. Before this time, in 1757, John Baskerville had begun his typographic work, and speedily had raised himself to the highest fame as a printer and type-founder. To many of the learned, Birmingham is perhaps best known as the home of Baskerville, and in their day the press of this man and the gardens of his friend Shenstone, a few miles away, attracted large numbers of the great and of the famous from all parts of the world. Baskerville was an eccentric, whose vanity and whose ability were about upon a par. He was what is called a "self-made" man, with very little education, and no spirit of reverence at all. The directions he left with regard to the disposal of his body after his death gave rise to ludicrous difficulties, and do little credit to his heart or head. Yet, with all his faults, he was the ideal manufacturer, daunted by no difficulty, and satisfied with nothing that fell short of perfection. A far greater man was Priestley, of whom as a divine there may be varying opinions, but as a scientist only one—that of admiration. He did not reach Birmingham until 1780, when he was

nearly fifty years of age, and he remained here but for a dozen years, but he has left an indelible mark on the history of the town. His chief inducement in coming was the facility with which he could here prosecute his scientific work, and he prized to the uttermost the society of the really brilliant scientific and literary coterie which made Birmingham its headquarters. The celebrated Lunar Society was so-called from its meetings being held at the time of the full moon, so that its members could reach their often distant homes in safety. Of this society Priestley became a member, and here he met Boulton, Watt, Baskerville, Galton, and Erasmus Darwin, Edgeworth and his friend Day, Sir William Herschell and Benjamin Franklin, and many another man whose name is still revered, and whose work is still fruitful. Personally, Priestley strikes us as being one of the most blameless of men. Those who knew him best speak with a loving enthusiasm of his gentle placidity, and of the kindness and charity which added grace to his scientific and philosophic greatness. Yet to Priestley is largely due the most furious and ungoverned outburst of passion that ever sullied the annals of Birmingham. Himself the very incarnation of fairness and candour, he never seems to have understood that many men are by nature incapable of approaching a burning question in the spirit of placid moderation. His own gentleness did not indispose him for voluminous and prolonged controversy, and it is easy to imagine that the persistent and unbroken calm of a man who seemed incapable of changing an opinion or of losing his temper must have been exasperating to antagonists who felt and spoke warmly. Hence, amongst those who were socially his equals, but who differed from him, Priestley became deeply disliked. The irritation and anger spread downward to a class which had at that time no pretension to culture or to moderation, whether in Birmingham or elsewhere, as the Gordon Riots will conclusively prove. To such an extent had this

unreasoning hatred grown that the very boys in the street would leave their play to curse Priestley when they saw him coming. It was at the moment when public opinion was excited to fever heat by the events of the French Revolution, and when the King, having vainly tried to escape, had been brought a prisoner to Paris, that the party in Birmingham to which Priestley belonged advertised a public dinner to celebrate the anniversary of the destruction of the Bastille. Among the things which are admittedly lawful, few, perhaps, have ever been so entirely inexpedient as this most unwise step. The passion aroused caused even the promoters of the scheme to hesitate, and they were on the point of announcing a postponement, but were overruled by the remonstrances and assurances of the landlord of the hotel. The dinner passed decorously enough, the loyal toasts being duly honoured, and all was over, according to the primitive habits of the time, by five o'clock. Priestley himself was not present. But the mischief had been done. The mob, after waiting in vain for Priestley to appear, broke the windows of the hotel, and then completely burnt the new meeting-house where he was pastor. The old meeting-house was then demolished by being pulled down, the mob, which, although it had no apparent leader, yet showed some occasional sense of order, not using fire lest the adjoining property should suffer. None but Unitarian chapels were menaced, nor was the property of any but Unitarians destroyed. The next object of attack was Priestley's house. He himself had escaped, but the destruction of his property was complete—his valuable library and laboratory were demolished and the house burnt down. At noon on the following day the mob burned the house which had been Baskerville's, but which was now owned by Mr. Ryland, a prominent Unitarian. The act of destruction was accompanied by incidents of peculiar savagery, which

showed that the mob was now beyond all appeal or control. Seven of the unhappy wretches who were carousing in the cellar perished in the flames, and many were horribly burned or maimed. The next assault was made on William Hutton's warehouse, which was destroyed, as also were the houses of John Taylor, the chief Birmingham banker, and of William Hutton himself. Three more houses were destroyed upon the following day, and then Moseley Hall, the most important of all, was attacked. This was the property of Mr. Taylor, but the inmate at the time was the Countess of Carhampton, who was an aged lady, blind and infirm, and a Churchwoman. To her, personally, no animosity was felt, and the rioters not only permitted her to depart unscathed, but assisted in loading four wagons with her goods, and told off a guard for her safe escort. On the following morning, which was Sunday, a house and small meeting-house were destroyed at a considerable distance from the town; but here the mischief stopped. The magistrates, most of whom belonged to the Church party, had regarded these horrible excesses with an apathy —if apathy it were—little to be distinguished from imbecility. After all, the property destroyed was never theirs, and even in its wildest excesses the mob had shown a scrupulous care in confining its fury to the unfortunate Unitarians. But the riot had now reached a pitch which roused universal alarm. No one could tell how much longer a rabble maddened by drink could be trusted to act with discrimination, and a desperate appeal for military help was made. At headlong speed two troops of dragoons came from Nottingham, covering forty miles without a halt, and reaching Birmingham in the evening just as the mob was preparing to attack Edgbaston Hall. The news of their arrival was enough. At the very word the formidable mob slunk into hiding, and tranquillity was restored as by magic. But the

elements of mischief were still present, and the bitterest feeling was excited in the settlement of the claims made by the victims of the rioters. The jury was even then openly adverse, and a second riot broke out as a result of the rate made for payment. It was long ere the Unitarians summoned courage to rebuild their chapels, and it was never considered safe for Dr. Priestley to return. There were other riots also, which were caused by destitution and the high price of bread, and the close of the eighteenth century could scarcely have been a happy time for Birmingham.

But none of these things really hindered the prosperity of the town. At the great Soho factory the manufacture of the steam-engine was, for the time being, a monopoly, and the whole world was attracted by the growing fame of the new-born power. Nervous, excitable, and a genius, James Watt had little capacity for business. The constantly increasing demand for the engines he had perfected filled him with something approaching to terror, and he would have been lost without the support of Boulton, who was his very antithesis. But the commercial power of Birmingham, even at that far-off day, is too great and too much a matter of elaborate detail to be attempted in this sketch. Its fame is sufficiently proved by innumerable references in the memoirs and travels of the time; and by the well-remembered phrase of Edmund Burke, who called Birmingham "the toyshop of Europe," meaning by "toys" the small fancy articles in metal, often artistic enough, which still bear that name in the town. The town, which had been so little known in the days of the Tudors and the Stuarts that only the merest scraps of description have ever reached us, was now so famous that most foreign travellers in England endeavoured to visit it, and elaborate descriptions of its state in the latter part of the eighteenth century are to be found, literally, by the

Aston Hall : The Long Gallery.

score. These accounts are all much to the same purpose. The visitor was dazzled by the greatness of the manufactures of Birmingham, and by the skill and care required in their conduct. He found the lower classes rough enough, but not without a heartiness and blunt honesty more highly valued by them than civility; while the leading manufacturers were men eminent in their way, alert, enterprising, and masterful. Vainly did he seek for beauty of architecture. The Mother Church of St. Martin's had been cased in dingy brick in a manner only possible to the churchwardens of the eighteenth century; and such of the public edifices of the time as have survived to this day would generally be classed as hideous. St. Philip's Church and the Free Grammar School were, perhaps, the only rewards of a pilgrimage through the maze of dirty and ill-paved streets; and by universal accord the much-travelled highways out of the town are described as vile and even dangerous. The population, too, was small; only the tenth part of what it now is. But the seeds of all the future growth were there. Intelligence, honesty, and industry were laying the sure foundations of greatness. All observers seem to notice the bustle in the streets, the earnestness, the evidence that every man had something to do and was intent on doing it, which won William Hutton's heart on his first visit long before. During the nineteenth century the growth of Birmingham was phenomenal and surprising. She has now her Corporation, her seven members of Parliament, her Public Libraries and Parks, her Courts of Justice, her Art Gallery. She is a City, with all the dignities thereunto belonging—her two Cathedrals and her University. Her growth is, indeed, bewildering and embarrassing; and, like that of all cities so enormously great, evokes problems which it is much easier to discuss than to solve. But there are, perhaps, few very large cities where the relations between class and class are

more genuinely friendly, where the claims of public life are more honourably met, and where the hope of a happy solution of the problems of the future is better founded. She has chosen the word "Forward" for her motto, and if her advance be always in the right path, there is no need to limit its extent or fear its end.

HOWARD S. PEARSON.

THE MANUSCRIPT TREASURES OF COVENTRY

THE manuscripts dealing with Coventry history are plentiful and very various, although so many of them perished in the Birmingham Free Library fire in 1879. Enough, however, remain to show the great importance of the city in times past, and the value that those in authority attached to its records. Not all these MSS. lie under one roof. Most of the account books of the various trading companies of the city repose in grave and crepuscular legal interiors, which it requires some hardihood to enter, for it is the usage to place these documents with the legal representative of each company. But the bulk of the records are the property of the Corporation, and a multitude of charters, deeds, rolls, and volumes lie in the little modern Gothic chamber built for their reception in St. Mary's Hall.[1]

Some compensation for the havoc wrought by the Birmingham fire may be gleaned from the labours of Thomas Sharp and William Reader. The latter, in addition to his own copious researches, printed those of Sharp, and from his press appeared in 1817 the first edition of the only Coventry play whereof the existence was then known. The MS. of this play[2]—that of the

1 Fetherston's *Coventry Charters, Deeds, Seals, and Merchant Marks*, printed at the *Herald* Office, Coventry, 1871, is, on the whole, the best account, though partially superseded.

2 Afterwards re-published (1825) with additional matter gained from the documents of the various companies in Sharp's *Dissertation on the Pageants or Dramatic Mysteries Anciently performed at Coventry by the Trading Companies of that City*. Many of Sharp's MS. sources perished in the fire.

Shearmen and Tailors—afterwards perished in the fire. A second—the Weavers'—playbook was discovered in 1832. It is the only one that Time has spared us. Of the famous pageant cycle, acted year after year at Corpus Christi, and viewed by a renowned company of kings and queens, Henry V., Margaret of Anjou, Richard III., Henry VII., Elizabeth of York, there remains but one.

Another collection—if we may apply so high-sounding a name to its few battered volumes—is to be found at the Free School. Of literary rather than historical value, the association of these volumes with generations of Free School *alumni* gives them a certain local interest. It is a sorrowful thing that this library, founded as far back as 1602,[1] and supported by pious donors—some famous, like Elizabeth of Bohemia, some forgotten—should have been so much mishandled in the past. In the seventeenth century its books were highly treasured; chains were made for their security; and they have had at least one renowned reader, Lucius Carey, Lord Falkland. But now they are in a state of sad decay. Nothing memorable remains of this collection save the MS. in the handwriting of Thomas Clare, monk of Bury St. Edmunds, of Jean de Jandun on Aristotle's *De Animâ*, one of the three or four copies extant of the work of a memorable mediæval scholar.[2]

Of the city trading companies, the mercers,[3] fullers,[4] bakers,[5] and others have documents of interest to the students of their various industries; but the broad weavers and clothiers—anciently the weavers—have a treasure of the greatest value—the playbook of the

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1 See Sharp's *Antiquities of Coventry* (ed. Fretton, 1870), 173-7.

2 See, for Jean de Jandun, Poole's *Illustrations of the History of Mediæval Thought*. M. Paul Meyer has informed me that there are MSS. at Paris and Oxford of this work.

3 The documents open in the year 1579.

4 See Fretton's "Memorials of the Fullers' Guild," *Transactions Birmingham and Midland Institute*, 1877.

5 *Coventry Herald*, March 8th, 1907.

Presentation of Christ in the Temple, a small sixteenth century volume of sixteen pages.[1] Bound in ancient boards and leather, with Tudor woodcuts pasted inside, the weavers' play is in the handwriting of Robert Croo, by whom it was edited—"newly translate"—in March, 1534 (old style). This is a late version, and the pageant in some form or other had been in existence probably for 150 years before Croo's redaction of it.

The subject-matter of the play falls into three parts—a discourse of the Prophets, the Purification, and Christ's disputation with the Doctors in the Temple. Its actors were, like the Marian prisoner, Careless, either weavers or members of the company. Men played women's parts, as the custom then was; an entry in the weavers' account book mentions one "Hew Heyns pleynge Anne." A touch of realism, however, is evident in the personification of the infant Jesus by a baby. "Item, payd to the letull chylde iiijd.," runs one of the entries in the weavers' account in 1553. Simeon, the chief actor, dressed like a bishop with a "mytor," received in 1544 3s. 4d. for his hire, while "Mare," "Jhesu," "Symyons clark," and "Ane" (Anna, the prophetess), were severally rewarded with 1s. 8d. Joseph, who had some delicious situations in his role of henpecked and aged husband, set to hunt "bridis nestis," or doves for presentation at the Temple, had 2s. 4d.

Written in rhymes, which sometimes sink, frankly, to doggerel, with ill-spelled tags in Latin from the Vulgate, and sometimes rise to verse, with a lilt in it not far removed from real poetry, the play is a very composite affair indeed. Upon analysis, it resolves itself into a work of various periods, various hands, and various metres, whereof the simplest and (probably) oldest is the octosyllabic quatrain, in which form its latest editor[2] believes

[1] Edited by Sharp for the Abbotsford Club, 1836.

[2] Dr. Hardin Craig. See *Two Corpus Christi Plays* (Early English Text Society), xxiv. For the weavers' accounts see pp. 106-7.

the whole or a great part of the cycle to have been written. It is sometimes pedantic, sometimes spirited, always naif; and, on the whole, a charming specimen of the popular and spontaneous dramatic art of the Middle Ages. *Everyman* has taught us the possibilities of our early religious drama, and I hope one day to see a revival of genuine "pageants" at Coventry. It is customary to speak as if the great fabric of Elizabethan drama rose from the earth in one generation. So it seems outwardly; but the foundations of the building were dug deep in the dramatic genius of the English people, and prepared by generations of obscure penmen and by nameless craftsfolk, who out-Heroded Herod on rude stages, and died and were forgotten.

But the importance of every other collection of Coventry deeds is dwarfed by that which lies in the drawers and on the shelves of the muniment room in St. Mary's Hall.[1] Chief among these treasures are two books of original correspondence, or letter-books,[2] arranged by the indefatigable Sharp, and the records of the Court Leet, otherwise known as the *Leet Book*.[3] Other MSS. of possibly less importance, are the Corpus Christi guild accounts,[4] which contain a list of the names of the brethren and sistren of the guild from 1488 to 1553, with the accounts of the successive masters of the fraternity; and Humphrey Burton's book on *Ship-money*,[5] a spirited narrative of Coventry's resistance to the levy of the famous tax—not, however, as against its principle, but its unequal assessment. With neither of these last two, however, have we space to deal.

The letter-books deserve much attention. The most frequent entries in them are concerned with the commands of royalty. Thus, Isabella, the widow of Edward II., begs

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1 Catalogued by J. C. Jeaffreson, Hist. MSS. Comm.
2 Corp. MSS., A. 79. See for an index to these letters, Poole's *Coventry*, p. 374 *sqq*.
3 Corp. MSS., A. 3a. 4 *Ibid.*, A. 6. 5 *Ibid.*, A. 35.

that the Grey Friars may enjoy their privileges of burial; Anne Boleyn informs the mayor of a daughter's birth—the future Queen Elizabeth; and the great Queen herself insists on the safe-keeping of Mary of Scots when a prisoner at Coventry. There are letters from Henry IV., Henry, Prince of Wales, afterwards Henry V., Richard III., Henry VII., Henry VIII.; and—with their rare autographs—also from "Lady" Margaret, mother of Henry VII., and Henry, son of James I. A wordy but most diverting correspondence is concerned with this last-named monarch's injunction to the obstinate Coventry Puritans to kneel at the celebration of the Sacrament.

Occasionally the affairs of private people claim their recipients' attention. Richard Baxter thanks the Coventry authorities for a present; Ogilby, author of *Britannia*, sends a first instalment of his book; Endymion Porter imparts information as to his interest in the colliery at Wykyn; Sir Thomas White entreats the Corporation to pay a stipulated annuity to his wife. Failing their ability to perform this, "I shall even," writes the founder of St. John's, Oxford, "cast my college for ever . . . so am I utterly shamed in this world and the world to come." An interesting correspondence—this time from Cambridge—reveals contemporary opinion concerning a very famous person. Dr. John Eachard, dating from Catherine Hall, explains his views on education to Samuel Frankland, of the Grammar School. They are in accordance—he says—with those of Mr. Milton, a person of vile principles—Eachard was writing in 1676—but a wit and scholar, and most accurate in the Latin tongue.

The most important of all the Coventry MSS., however, is the *Leet Book*, a ponderous demi-folio, with an ancient binding of boards and leather, stamped with the Agnus Dei.[1] Inside the binding has been pasted a

[1] Part I. of this volume has been printed for the Early English Text Society this year (1907). Other parts will follow.

sheet of parchment, part of the musical score of the Mass —"qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis." The leaves of the volume are brown and dry, looking as if they had seen yeoman service, and on many of them the water-mark, now a fine M (Mary), now an orb with a cross on it, are clearly seen on holding the page against the light.

Occasionally the book must have been ill-done by, and in one part, wherein occur the records of those critical years 1469-70, several leaves present such a mangled appearance that they suggest the worryings of a puppy long ago. But more probably the mischief was done by a dog of the human breed. We may fancy disputes, recriminations, and what-not in the Council-house; the *Leet Book* is brought out to be consulted on the point at issue, and one of the disputants snatches at and rends the pages in a most unworshipful scuffle.

It is a pity that these few pages should have been marred after this fashion. The matter contained in them relates to levies of money and musters of men. There are letters from King Edward IV. bidding the citizens send soldiers, defensibly arrayed, to Nottingham and elsewhere with all convenient speed. There is a very loyal-seeming letter also from my Lord of Warwick, called the King-maker, who, with his son-in-law Clarence, made the city his headquarters in his operations—first disguised, then open—against King Edward. It is all interesting matter concerning a time whereof chroniclers have treated for the most part meagrely enough, and here and there the torn pages present *lacunæ* we would fain fill.

But, on the whole, there has been little mutilation, and once the technicalities mastered, the volume lends itself to being read with a fair amount of ease. It is true that, since the manuscript is the handiwork of various copyists, each fresh scribe comes to the reader with the air of a new acquaintance, requiring time and practice ere his peculiarities—graphic and orthographic—become

familiar. Some, for example, will fashion "h" to resemble "br"; another give to final "s" an irresistible reminiscence of "t"; and a third make "ll" and "tt" as like as the twins in the *Comedy of Errors*. Nearly all the scribes agree, however, in leaving initial "s" and "f" a matter of some dubiety; and as for the nasals "m" and "n," in conjunction with "u," "v," "i," or "j," they present themselves in a series of small upright lines of undeviating similarity, so that in cases of uncertainty nothing can be done but count the strokes and hazard words till the right one arrives. There is one scribe—a man, I opine, without conscience or honour—who will deliberately offer you more *cruces* to solve in a page than would his self-respecting fellow in upwards of a score, and leave you at the close of a passage of well-nigh undecipherable Latin in sore perplexity whether M encircled with a flourish should read "manucaptio," "magister," or "maior."

Still, on the whole, the various handwritings are clear and good, though usually of a pedestrian type, with small show of artistry. Once, in a list of weights and measures in the time of Edward IV., there is some display of red ink and ornament; and a certain scribe, who has written little more than a few lines concerning a gift of money for the vestments of St. Michael's and Trinity Churches, has fashioned each letter as an artist should. But such examples are rare. It is not unworkmanly done, however, till in the reign of Henry VIII. we fall in with a time of caligraphical demoralization and decay. The letters lose shapeliness, as if thought moved too quickly to allow of their proper formation. The spidery scrawl of the Tudor period is familiar to us all from reproductions of the autograph of Shakespeare. Its contemplation increases our sense of obligation to Hemynge and Cundell did they decipher the poet's own manuscript.

The regular annals, of which the *Leet Book* is mainly composed, begin with the year 1420, and they close 1555. The entries chronicle the proceedings at the annual election of the mayor and the bi-annual meetings of the

Court Leet, with the bye-laws enacted thereat; and, further, any letters, statements of accounts, or descriptions of divers happenings within Coventry and without, important and the reverse; for like the monastic chroniclers, the *Leet Book* scribes omit much that is of first-rate interest, and insert entries we could well spare.

Thus they pass by all reference to the obscure Lollard rising under Jack Sharpe in 1426, though there were notable arrests made at Coventry; they tell us nothing of the penances of the Lollards in 1485; they are reticent about the Diabolical Parliament of 1459; nor can we gather from them the position of parties within the city during the Wars of the Roses. Occasionally—and it is a vastly annoying habit—the scribe begins his entry, and then desists; thus a royal letter dealing with a rather serious outbreak occasioned by the preaching of one Grace, probably a Lollard, stops after a few words, to the discomfiture of the latter-day historian, who would gladly follow further the traces of this interesting evidence of local heresy. Unforgiveable, too, is the action of the scribe of the year 1496, who prepares to copy the documents concerning the Star Chamber trial of the agitator, Laurence Saunders, even to enditing the words, "the tenour whereof her ensueth," and then goes about other business, nor ever resumed this writing.

Some of the *Leet Book* is frankly of the dry-as-dust order—at least for the uninitiated. Lists of names of the creditors of King Henry VI., or the Dukes of Gloucester and Bedford, stretch to what would be an intolerable length, did not one remember that names, like men, have an infinite possibility. Setting aside their etymological significance—their derivations from trades, localities, and the like—they abound in genealogical suggestiveness. There were Tyrrells, Beauchamps, and Botelers at Coventry. Such names as those of John Ball or Laurence Saunders occurring in our lists, set us speculating if their owners were of kin, on the one hand, to the leader of the

1381 revolt found in hiding here, or on the other, to the Marian martyr who suffered so heroically in the Little Park. Burbage recalls Shakespeare's actor-manager, a Warwickshire man, whose epitaph, surely the shortest and most significant ever known, was "Exit Burbage." While there would seem to be undoubted ancestors of John Marston, the Elizabethan dramatist; of Agnes Randull, who married Foxe, the martyrologist, on February 3rd, 1546; and of the Puritan divine, Julyan Herryng—of whom his Bishop, a sorely-tried man maybe, vindictively said: "I will pickle that Herring"—living within our period in Coventry.

Nor are these lists without occasional touches of quaintness. When the scribe was ignorant of the name of some creditor he left a blank, usually adding the occupation of the man as a means of identification. Thus the expression, "the tailour that wedded the leches wyf," though roundabout, served its purpose.

Less suggestive are statements of accounts, unless, indeed, they bring home to us the vast superiority of Arabic arithmetical notation over Roman. Juno never set Psyche a more weariful task than must have been the balancing of accounts expressed in Roman numerals. Occasionally a gleam of interest lightens the figure-darkened sky, as when the mayor renders account of the expenses of entertaining Henry VII. after Bosworth—"for brede, ale and wyn that was hadde to Maister Onleys, he then beyng mair, at the comyng of Kyng Henre"; "1 pype of Claret wyn iii. li.," "1 pype Redde wyn iii. li.," are among the items—or the scribe jots down the total of the cost of the tench, bream, pike, and red wine sent to Fullbrook to the Duke and Duchess of Bedford.[1]

Accounts and names, however, occupy but a small proportion of the *Leet Book*, and here and there we light on annals that are brimful of human interest. Margaret

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1 *Leet Book*, ff. 257, back, 258, 68.

of Anjou's servants "grudge" when their mistress is received with less ceremony than the King; Edward IV. extends his patronage to John French, alchemist, who is labouring "to practise a true and profitable conclusion in the Cunnyng of transmutacion of metealls"; Laurence Saunders, popular champion, bursts forth into intemperate language: "Sirs, her me! we shall never have our right till we have striken of iii. or iiii. of thes Churls heds that rulen us!" Such are passages that remind us that we are not living in a world of names and figures, symbols and abstractions, but in one of men and women. Naturally, local affairs occupy the foremost place, but occasionally the scribe ceases his contemplation of these and turns his eye on the great world. He thus summarises the events that took place on the political stage of the year 1470, with quaintness and spirit:—

"The duke of Clarans and the yrle of Warw[ick] w[ent] out of the londe, and went to the kynge off France, and there were gretly cheryshyd, and ther was a m[arriage] m[ade] by-twx prinse Edward and a dohgter of the sayd yrle of Warwick. And in the monthe of Sept[ember] the said duke and yrle with the yrle of Oxynford, the yrle of Pembroke . . . the bastard ffawkynbruge, comyn a londe at Ex—— They ther drewe to hem muche pepull, or they com to Coventre, they were xxx thowsand. [Ky]ng Edward laye at Notynham, and send for lordes and all other men, but ther com so lytell pep[ull] to hym that he was not abyll to make a fylde a-gaynes hem."

So the narrative relates how the King and his adherents took refuge with the Duke of Burgundy, while the Earl of Warwick and others—

". . . Went to the towre at London, and set owt of prison Kyng Harry the Syxt, the whyche hade be ix yer and a half and mor as a prisonere, and brohgt hym to the bysshoppes palys at Powlys in London, and made hym there to take on hym to be kyng as he was afore-tyme. . . . The quene that was wyfe to kyng Edward, with hyr moder, the duches of Bedford, toke seynt-wary at Westmynster, and ther the quene was lyght of a son that was crystonyd Edward."[1]

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1 *Leet Book*, f. 211.

This is an account of the death of Henry VII.:—

"This yere dyed king Henry the VII[th] the xxii day of April, . . . at Rychemount . . . and was brought to London in to Pollys with many nobles of the Realme and grete nombre of torches, and a grete nombre of peple both on horsbak and a fote. And after iii dayes beyng in Pollys he was brought to Westmynster, and ther he lieth and his quene Elizabeth with hym in a newe chapell, which he causid to be made in his lyffe, on whoos soule Jhesu haue mercy."[1]

It was a strange life which the *Leet Book* reveals, a life of diversity, of peril, of strict discipline, and of that burning local patriotism incident in small quasi-independent communities grouped round a distinct centre. Life had much salt in it in those days. The direction of affairs rested with a few wealthy citizens; it was government *for* the people if you will, but by no means *by* the people, though a note of opposition sounds through the entire volume; clearly the people were very much alive. The magnates were less concerned with the preservation of individual liberty than with the advantage, real or supposed, of the community. Those were days when local failure in harvest spelt famine; pre-emption in any commodity by an enterprising local dealer, dearth; a riot, the horrors of violence and pillage; a heap of refuse, plague and the death of thousands. Peril brings with it the necessity of discipline, and mediæval society was wont to have the minutiæ of its daily practice regulated in manner such as moderns would never brook. Thus the bye-laws recorded in the *Leet Book*, which touch mediæval life on every side, are of great interest to the social historian. We see in them the citizen as craftsman, farmer, soldier, and actor in the pageants. We follow him into the market, workshop, the archery ground, and the common pastures. We know his piety and his suspiciousness, his capacity for hero-worship, and his ineradicable propensity to cheat. We fancy him a man

[1] *Leet Book*, f. 305.

of wider personal experience and less listlessness than his modern successor. He had not known the deadening effect of over-specialization, nor experienced the fashion in which life in a huge crowd estranges us from our fellow men.

MARY DORMER HARRIS.

RUGBY SCHOOL

THIS celebrated foundation was bequeathed to Rugby in the year 1567 by Lawrence Sheriff, a native of Rugby, and afterwards a citizen of the city of London. Of his early life nothing is known with certainty, and we are ignorant of the Christian names of his parents, but it is generally supposed that he was born early in the reign of Henry VIII., in a house, then belonging to his father, opposite St. Andrew's Church, in Church Street, Rugby. Some authorities, however, consider the place of his nativity to have been one of the picturesque half-timbered cottages at Brownsover, a hamlet in the vicinity of Rugby, a place to which the founder was deeply attached, and where he acquired land after the Dissolution.

Lawrence Sheriff belonged to the yeoman class—a status of society which rose to a slightly higher position shortly after the Reformation, owing to the easy terms of the acquisition of monastic property. This fact of his social position may be confirmed with some degree of precision by the knowledge that his parents received burial *within* the parish church of Rugby.

He is believed to have received his education at the small monastic grange which then existed in Rugby, under the rule of the monks of Pipewell, a Cistercian Abbey in Northamptonshire. This tiny religious house was then situated on a site to the south of the town, which has since become a part of the close attached to Rugby School.

The founder appears to have left Rugby in early life, and to have been apprenticed to the grocery business

in London. He afterwards commenced business on his own account in Newgate Street, London, where he rose to such celebrity that he became grocer to Queen Elizabeth. Shortly after he arrived at the dignity of an esquire, and received a grant of arms; but he appears to have always retained an honest pride in the status of citizen and grocer of London, describing himself by that title in his last will and testament. He continued his connection with the Court, for in the year 1562 his name appears recorded amongst those who, after the fashion of that day, gave presents to the sovereign upon New Year's Day; "a suger-loaf, a box of ginger, a box of nutmegs, and a pound of cynomon," were his offering. In the year 1566 he was elected Vice-Warden of the Grocers' Company, and on July 22nd, 1567, he made his will. The day of his death is unknown, but he was buried on the 14th of September, 1567, in Christ Church, London, which edifice was destroyed in the great fire in 1666.

Ideal portrait of
LAWRENCE SHERIFF,
Founder of Rugby School, in the costume of the Grocers' Company.

Designed and engraved (from a drawing by Mr. M. H. Bloxam) by A. E. Treen.

The property forming the endowment of Rugby School is situated in the hamlet of Brownsover, and in London. At the time of the school's foundation the value of the land was small, but owing to the increasing worth of the London property the income has amounted to the considerable sum of between five and six thousand pounds per annum.

The early history of the school is involved in obscurity, and it is not until the close of the sixteenth century that we gather any reliable account of its annals. It then appears to have been merely a school of local repute, called "The Free Grammar School," and its master was Richard Seele. He was succeeded in 1602 by Nicholas Greenhill, M.A., Demy of Magdalen College, Oxford, who died Rector of Whitnash, Leamington, in 1650, where his epitaph concludes with the following quaint lines:—

"This Greenhill periwig'd with Snow
Was levil'd in the Spring,
This Hill ye nine and three did know,
Was sacred to his King.
But he must down, although so much divine,
Before he rise, never to set, but shine."

In the year 1675 the register of the boys who entered the school was commenced under Robert Ashbridge, M.A., of Queen's College, Oxford. The first school was built opposite St. Andrew's Church, in Church Street, Rugby, adjoining the house supposed to have been the founder's birthplace. This first schoolroom was erected here according to the instructions of the founder in his Will and Intent, and continued to be used for the school until the middle of the eighteenth century. In 1749 the trustees purchased the ancient manor house of Rugby and eight acres of land adjoining, which now form part of the present school close. During the year 1750 the first schoolroom on this new site was erected, adjoining the manor house, the latter being used as the new residence of the headmaster. The school in this year removed to this site. In 1774, when the enclosure of the open and common fields of Rugby took place, the school was allotted eight acres of land adjoining their property. This land now constitutes a portion of the school close. In 1779 another schoolroom was erected, adjoining that built in 1750. In 1809 the oldest portions of the present school were commenced, being built on the site of the previous

schoolroom, and the present school house occupying the site of the ancient manor house. These buildings are composed of yellow brick, with Attleborough stone dressings, in the style of architecture in vogue in the time of the founder. These alterations, costing upwards of £38,000, were completed in 1813, under the direction of Mr. Hakewell, a celebrated London architect. During the year 1818 the foundation stone of the first chapel was laid by the Rev. John Wooll, D.D., then headmaster, the building being consecrated on the 16th of July, 1821, and dedicated to St. Lawrence by the Hon. and Right. Rev. Edward Legge, D.D., then Bishop of Oxford, an Old Rugbeian.

In 1828 Dr. Arnold was appointed headmaster, and many additions to the school were shortly after made. The present Sixth Form room over the famous gateway was erected at this period. Here Arnold taught the "Sixth." The window on the north side looking into the High Street is filled with stained glass, giving portraits of many of the headmasters. Around the walls of this sombre chamber are fixed the tops of the little tables used by many generations of Rugby boys, upon which are carved many names which are emblazoned on the roll of fame. Above are some shelves, access to which is obtained by a little gallery running round three sides of the room, upon which are preserved the precious volumes of antiquarian literature bequeathed to this school by Mr. M. H. Bloxam, F.S.A.

After the death of Dr. Arnold the adjoining room, called "The Arnold Library," was erected to his memory in 1844; this room then became the home of the school library, and continued so until it was found inadequate. In 1879 the "Temple Reading Room" was erected, and the books were then transferred to that building. The Arnold Library served then as the repository of the very interesting gathering of curiosities collected by past enthusiastic members of the School Natural History

Society; these relics have now found a new and larger home on the Hillmorton Road, and the room is now used for teaching the Lower Sixth Form.

During the headmastership of Dr. Temple, the block of buildings consisting of the new quadrangle and the chapel were commenced and erected at intervals, being completed in 1886, during the headmastership of Dr. Jex-Blake, from the designs of the late Mr. W. Butterfield. Subscriptions for these extensions were raised by Dr. Temple from Old Rugbeians and the masters and friends at the tercentenary of the school in 1867, and subsequently by Dr. Jex-Blake.

The School Chapel was at this time almost entirely rebuilt. The present edifice occupies the site of the original chapel, but extends somewhat further to the east, and is considerably larger. Like the other school buildings designed by Mr. Butterfield, it is constructed of red and yellow bricks, with Bath stone dressings, and consists of chancel, nave, north and south transepts, with tower over the chancel.

Although the exterior of the building lacks symmetry, the interior is exceedingly beautiful. Entering at the north-west end, we pass along a corridor lighted by numerous small windows filled with fine stained glass, out of which opens the door leading into the nave. Near the lectern is a small marble cross in the pavement, beneath which repose the ashes of the great Dr. Arnold, and adjoining the south transept stands the plain oak pulpit from which flowed those words which touched the youthful heart, and, through the medium of print, won immortality.

In the north transept is Arnold's recumbent figure, and adjoining that of his gifted pupil and biographer, Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, late Dean of Westminster. There are also sculptured effigies of Dr. Thomas James, by Chantrey, and Dr. John Wooll, by Westmacott, a marble tablet to Archbishop Tait, and medallion portraits

of Archbishop Benson and Archbishop Temple. In one corner—now termed "the poets' corner"—are medallions of Arthur Clough and Matthew Arnold, and all round the chapel are tablets commemorating departed Old Rugbeians in almost every walk in life.

The glass in some of the windows—including that over the altar, which was probably designed by one of the followers of Albert Dürer—was brought from the parish church of Oerschot, near Louvain, in 1836, and presented by some of the masters. The modern windows have been inserted to the memory of different former members of this school. On the north side of the chancel stands the powerful electric organ, whose sublime tones add such beauty to the simplicity of the services conducted here according to the rites of the Church of England.

Leaving this sacred spot enshrined in the hearts of every living member of the school, we walk out into the close. The beautiful row of elms which once grew along the garden wall of the school house was blown down during the gales in the autumn of 1884, leaving a terrible blank in this charming spot; yet, even now, from many points we can obtain a glimpse of the lost grandeur, and can experience something of what that view once was, if we behold it when the trees are arrayed in their rich emerald tints of early summer. We notice the racquet court, gymnasium, and bath in the far corners, while near the centre the delicate spire of St. Marie's Church lends a beauty to the scene. Close to the cricket pavilion is an ancient British barrow or tumulus. Some seventy years ago the mound was surrounded by water, and called "The Island." It is now covered by trees, and is not uninteresting to the antiquary as one of those scarce connecting-links which unite the first decade of the twentieth century with our remote British ancestors, who are conjectured by experts to have flourished here at Rugby little short of two thousand years ago.

Many traditions in the old school life are associated with this mound. Here the boys formerly had small gardens, to which they themselves attended. Here, too, at the time of the "Great Rebellion" in 1797, during the headmastership of Dr. Ingles, the ringleaders resorted in hopes of rendering themselves inaccessible by making this a fortress against those in authority. To the south-west of this mound is the fine stretch of turf, the exact site of the ancient monastic grange already alluded to, now the scene in summer time of many a fine cricket match. Here generation after generation of Rugbeians group themselves with their friends and visitors out of the town to witness some fine cricket. And on a fine summer's afternoon the scene composed of the beautiful trees, the rich expanse of matchless lawn, and the picturesque buildings peeping here and there between fine masses of foliage, make up a picture of singular charm.

We now leave the school close and turn into the Barby Road. On our right stands the Art Museum. This building was erected at a cost of £9,000, and opened on Speech Day, June 24th, 1879. On the ground floor is the Temple Reading Room, containing upwards of 20,000 volumes. The windows are of stained glass, depicting the arms of the episcopal sees occupied by Old Rugbeians. In the centre of the entrance hall is an exquisite marble bust of the late Archbishop Temple, by Thomas Woolner, R.A., and at the north end of the library is a fine bronze bust of the late Lord Bowen, by Thomas Brock, R.A. Upstairs is the Art Museum. Here are preserved the local antiquities given by Mr. M. H. Bloxam, F.S.A., and a valuable collection of drawings by the Old Masters, also bequeathed by him, and formerly in the possession of his uncle, Sir Thomas Lawrence, P.R.A. Here are also numerous fine paintings by old and modern artists, Greek pottery, and all kinds of things interesting to lovers of the old and the beautiful.

At one end of this building is the drawing school, and at the other the curator's residence. In front is a fine lawn, surrounded by trees and flowers, in the centre of which stands the life-like marble statue of Thomas Hughes, Q.C., better known as the author of *Tom Brown's School Days.*

A short distance down the Barby Road into the town is the school speech-room, called "New Big School." This fine building contains a good organ, and its walls are surrounded by valuable oil paintings of distinguished Old Rugbeians, and other ancient pictures of local worthies, the latter the gift of Mr. M. H. Bloxam. At the west end is an impressive marble half-length figure of Dr. Arnold, by Alfred Gilbert, R.A. These artistic treasures give a very beautiful effect to the oak panelling round the room, making it resemble some of the old college halls at Oxford. Opposite this building stands the school house, the official residence of the headmaster; its fine turret tower, with ivy-clad entrance, is very impressive, and its association with so many generations of scholars and thinkers imparts to it a lofty position in the annals of Rugby. Here every headmaster has resided since the days of Dr. Wooll. Here Thomas Carlyle bade his last farewell to Dr. Arnold after a brief visit in the summer of 1842, expressing the hope that this house might "long continue to be what was to him one of the rarest sights in the world—a temple of industrious peace." But only a few weeks followed—the end of that summer term—and the great schoolmaster was carried out of this home of peace and laid to rest in the sanctity of that chapel he loved so well.

It is impossible here to do full justice to the historic traditions which centre round this memorable school. It grew from a tiny seed planted by a plain God-fearing native of Rugby—Lawrence Sheriff—whose "Free Grammar School" has become one of the stately schools of England. The memory of the many gifted sons

Rugby School : School House.

educated here should inspire all who are privileged to enjoy its membership, and shed a lustre further on those born and nurtured under its shade. But the natives of the town and vicinity included in the area named in the founder's deed of gift regret the cutting off the entail (by the Public School Bill of 1868), whereby in time this school will lose its fraternal association with those bred in the district; but the lofty fame of its sons link the citizens of Rugby in the larger and broader sphere of citizenship with England herself; and so we must look back less on the past with regret, and direct our eyes to the future, as we behold a greater Rugby than of old, which shall—

"Rise up within our land, and dying creeds
Through higher forms and nobler aims shall mould
To pure and perfect deeds.

"And, as in ages past, shall still infuse
O'er the whole land her spirit keen and bright,
And bear her splendid name without abuse
In universal light."

A. EDWARD TREEN.

COMPTON WYNYATES

"A Tudor-chimnied bulk
Of mellow brickwork on an isle of bowers."—*Tennyson.*

THOSE who are fortunate enough to penetrate the rural depths of Warwickshire and reach Compton Wynyates, the ancestral home of the Comptons, will have imprinted on their minds a vision of colour and architectural beauty set in quiet country surroundings. Indeed, the peace is absolutely unbroken; and, as we gaze at one beautiful feature after another, it is hard to believe that we are not transported back by some enchantment to the sixteenth century.

In addition to its beauty, the house has features of great interest. It was built after the fortified castles were out of date, and yet retains the moat, secret hiding-places, and numerous staircases for refuge and escape in case of attack. Its chief safety, however, lay in its situation; for, built in a hollow with the ground rising on every side, it would often escape discovery. Camden wrote of it as "Compton in the Hole," adding that "though in a hole yet it is not without its pleasures." On the top of the rise towards Banbury, as a guide before a road was made, there still stands a pile of stones called Compton Pike.

The moat is now filled up except on one side, where it nearly surrounds an old garden, and both form a beautiful foreground to the north side of the house.

On approaching the building by the high road, the

entrance front now bursts into view across a wide stretch of lawn, where formerly it was shielded by buildings forming an outer court. It is indeed a most glorious pile of exquisite colouring, built of small red bricks widely separated by mortar, with occasional chequers of blue bricks; the mouldings and facings of yellow local stone, the woodwork of the two gables carved and black with age, the stone slates covered with lichens, and mellowed by the hand of time, the whole building has an indescribable charm. The architecture, too, is all irregular; towers here and there, gables of different heights, any straight line embattled, few windows placed exactly over others, and the whole fitly surmounted by the elaborate brick chimneys of different designs, some fluted, others zig-zagged, others spiral, or combined spiral and fluted.

Of the Comptons owning Compton Wynyates before the reign of Henry VIII. very little is known. The first definite connection of the place with the family occurs in the seventh year of Edward I., when a Philip de Comptone was lord of the manor, then designated Comptone Wyniate, which he held of Thomas de Arden by the service of half a knight's fee, and he of the Earl of Warwick.[1] It was probably the seal of Thomas de Comptone, of Comptone Wyniate, that was found in 1845 in the grounds at Compton, illustrating the old Compton arms: *argent* on a chevron *sable*, three fleur-de-lys *argent*, surrounded by the inscription **S' Thome de Comptone.** He was coroner of Warwickshire for many years in the reign of Edward III.; as Dugdale observes, it was an office of very great account in those days.

The first of the family to rise to any really historical eminence was William Compton, who must have been

1 "On the Descent and Arms of the House of Compton," E. P. Shirley, *Archæologia*, vol. xliii., 1871, which explains how the helmet coat of arms came to be substituted for that of the *fleur-de-lys*.

born in 1482, for he was eleven years old when his father Edmund died in 1493.

In his early youth he was page[1] to Henry, Duke of York, second son of Henry VII., and he was evidently in great favour with that prince, for, on his becoming King in 1509, Compton was appointed in quick succession groom of the bedchamber, chief gentleman of the bedchamber, groom of the stole, constable of Sudeley and Gloucester castles, and to many other offices. As a further mark of the King's favour, on November 7th, 1512, he received honourable augmentation of arms "out of the said King's own royall Ensigns and Devises,"[2] viz., a lion passant gardant *or* to be added to the coat of the three helmets; and a crest—a demi-dragon erased *gules* within a coronet *or* upon a torse *argent* and *vert;* also of another coat *argent* a chevron *vert* within a bordure *azure* bezante; green and white being Henry VIII.'s colours.

In the French campaign of 1513 he seems to have been in the main body, or "middle ward," of the army,[3] although Dugdale and Hall say he commanded the rearguard.[4] However that may be, he must have distinguished himself, for he and forty-four others were rewarded for their exertions by having the honour of knighthood conferred on them by the King at Tournay on September 25th; and not quite two months later the new knight was promoted to the Chancellorship of Ireland, with power to act by deputy; but this office he did not hold long, for in March, 1516, it passed to the Archbishop of Dublin.

On February 5th, 1513-14, the University of Cambridge granted "letters of confraternity" to him and his wife. This appears to be the first mention, in

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1 Dugdale, *Warwickshire.*
2 *Ibid.*
3 *Calendar*, Henry VIII., i. 4314.
4 Dugdale, *Warwickshire;* Hall, *Chronicle*, f. 26.

Compton Wynyates: South Front.

order of date, that occurs of Compton's wife, who was Werburga, daughter and heiress of Sir John Brereton and widow of Sir Francis Cheyney; she is also mentioned as being present among the "knightes wyves" at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, where her husband was in attendance on the King, as he was also at the subsequent interview with the Emperor at Gravelines in 1520. In the same year he obtained licence to impark land (2,000 acres) "at Overcompton and Nethercompton, alias Compton Vyneyats."[2]

In 1523, Sir William Compton was serving on the Borders under the Earl of Surrey against the Scotch, and this is the only time he ever removed far from court. Some thought that his rival Wolsey contrived his being sent away, hoping in his absence to injure his credit with the King; but, if such were the case, there is no record that his schemes were successful, and a fragment of a grant, dated 22nd February, 18 Henry VIII. (152$\frac{6}{7}$) gives permission to Sir William Compton to wear his hat in the King's presence, which seems to show that he was still in favour at court.[3]

He died in 1528 of the sweating sickness, and was presumably buried at Compton, where his mutilated effigy remains, on which can be traced, on the base of his surcoat, the ancient family coat of the fleur-de-lys, and round his neck the collar of SS., with a badge of Henry VIII.—the double-rose—dependent from it. He left one son, Peter, aged 6, who became Wolsey's ward. Peter died a minor, leaving one son, Henry, who was in some favour with Queen Elizabeth, whom he entertained at

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1 Hall, *Rutland Papers*, Camden Society, 21.

2 Here he had built the house which Dugdale calls "a fair mannour house," and where, according to Richard Gough, quoted by Nichols in *The Progresses of James I.*, he was visited by the King, for, "over the gateway are the arms of France and England, under a crown, supported by the greyhound and griffin, and sided by the rose and the crown, probably in memory of King Henry VIII.'s visit here."

3 *Patent Rolls.* The enrolment, however, is cancelled.

Compton Wynyates during her progress of 1572. In the same year he was created Baron Compton by his royal mistress, having been previously knighted by the Earl of Leicester in 1566.[1] He commenced building Castle Ashby, but died at Compton, and was buried in the church there according to his own wish expressed in his will. Camden relates that he was a person of fine wit and solid judgment.

Lord Compton died in 1589, leaving a young son, William, who was the hero of the "baker's basket elopement." The story runs that he fell in love with the only child of Sir John Spencer, one of the most opulent of London's merchant princes, proverbially known at the time as "rich Spencer." Sir John by no means approved of the advances of the young courtier, positively refused his consent to the marriage, and at one time hid his daughter away;[2] where there's a will there's a way, however, so Lord Compton is said to have devised a plan to outwit Sir John and carry off his lady-love. A bribe to the baker enabled him to disguise himself and deliver the loaves one morning; as soon as the basket was emptied the lady got in, and Lord Compton was boldly carrying his precious load downstairs when he was met by Sir John, who, luckily not recognising him, gave him a sixpence as a reward for being so early, observing that that was the way to thrive. On discovering the truth, Sir John was so angry that he disinherited his daughter; and the quarrel was only made up through the intervention of Queen Elizabeth, who invited him to stand sponsor with her for a child, whom he promised to adopt, and then found that it was his own grandson.[3] A reconciliation followed with the disinherited couple. It is said that on his death in 1610, he left, according to the

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1 *The Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, John Nichols.
2 *Letters by John Chamberlain*, Camden Soc., 79.
3 *Memorials*, Ralph Winwood; *State Papers*, vol. iii., pp. 136, 146.

lowest accounts, £300,000—a prodigious sum in those days—to his son-in-law, Lord Compton, who so—

" . . . oppressed with the greatnes of his sudaine fortunes fell madde. The Erle of Suffolke havinge begd the keeping of him would have seized upon his money and jewelles at Islington; my Lord Compton's mother the Countesse of Dorset playinge the valiant virago, withstood him, and he was thereby defeated; my Lorde Compton, being kept in the toure a little while recovered."

The same authority also states that—

". . . My Lorde Compton at the first comminge to his great estate after the death of Sir John Spencer did within lesse than 8 weekes spende 72,000*l*, most in great horses, rich saddles, and playe."[1]

By this marriage with the Spencer heiress the now valuable property of Islington came into the Compton family. On inheriting this great fortune, it was Lady Compton's wish that Castle Ashby should be built up; so my lady's grand notions fortunately found a safe outlet without destroying the old manor house of the time of Henry VIII; there is a celebrated letter of hers written at this time, which contains her long list of extravagant requirements.[2]

Lord Compton was created Earl of Northampton by James I., whom he entertained at Compton in 1617, and, dying in 1630, was succeeded by his son Spencer, a brilliant scholar and an accomplished gentleman.

At an early age he went to Cambridge, and in 1614, when he was about thirteen, he took part in a play there which was described as a thing full of mirth and variety, with many excellent actors, among whom Lord Compton's son, though least, yet was not worst.[3] Lloyd says of him that his—

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1 A small notebook, entitled *Memorable Accidents*, by John Pym; *Hist. MSS.* Report x., App. vi.

2 The authenticity of this letter is not without doubt. It was first published in the supplement to the *Universal Magazine*, 1782, vol. lxxi., and is reprinted in *Worthies of Warwickshire*, F. L. Colvile, 1869; and *Compton Wynyates*, by the Marquis of Northampton.

3 *The Progresses of James I.*, John Nichols.

" . . . Parts were so great, and his appetite to knowledge so large, that it was as much as four several tutors, at home, at Cambridge, and in France and Italy, each taking his respective hour for the art and science he professed, could do to keep pace with his great proficiency."[1]

In 1621 he married Mary, daughter of Sir Francis Beaumont, about the same time becoming Member of Parliament for Ludlow, and in the following year he was appointed Master of the Robes to Prince Charles. In 1623 he went with the Prince to Spain, and seems to have been in as much favour with his royal master as his great-great-grandfather William was with his; for, when Charles came to the throne in 1625, Spencer was re-appointed Master of the Robes, and the next year he was called to Parliament as Baron Compton, succeeding his father as Earl of Northampton in 1630. He ardently supported the King during two Scotch wars, and at the same time advocated the summoning of a Parliament. That one word of four syllables, said he, was "like the dew of heaven." [2]

On the breach between Charles and the Parliament in 1642, the Earl followed the King to York, and was one of the nine lords impeached by Parliament for refusing to return. He signed the engagement of the 13th June to defend the King, and finally undertook the task of executing the Commission of Array in Warwickshire. This commission he first put into execution at Coleshill, near Coventry, and then tried to surprise Warwick Castle,[3] which he failed to do, but succeeded in obstructing the ordnance sent by Lord Brooke to fortify the castle; he then proceeded to attack Banbury and carried off the guns.

It is impossible here to go into historical detail, but suffice it to say further that towards the end of the year the King gave him control over Banbury and the district,

1 Quoted in Nichols' *Progresses of James I.*
2 *State Papers*, ii., 210.
3 *Memoirs*, Bulstrode.

and he was ordered to raise a regiment of horse, the command of which was given to his eldest son, James; his second son, Charles, was made a lieutenant-colonel of this regiment, and the castle of Banbury was given to his third son, William.

In 1643, the Earl, after routing the enemy's cavalry, was killed at Hopton Heath, too eagerly pursuing the infantry, scornfully refusing to surrender to "base rogues and rebels." Clarendon sums up the results of the battle by saying that—

"... A greater victory had been an unequal recompense for a less loss. He was a person of great courage, honour and fidelity, and not well known till his evening; having in the ease and plenty and luxury of that too happy time indulged to himself with that license which was then thought necessary to great fortunes; but from the beginning of these distractions, as if he had been awakened out of a lethargy, he never proceeded with a lukewarm temper. ... All distresses he bore like a common man, and all wants and hardnesses as if he had never known plenty or ease; most prodigal of his person to danger, and would often say, 'that, if he outlived these wars, he was certain never to have so noble a death.'"[1]

When James, the young Earl, sought his father's body, the Parliamentarian commander refused at first to surrender it except in exchange for "all their Ammunition, Prisoners, and Cannon which we had taken."[2]

This James succeeded his father as Governor of Banbury Castle, and was himself succeeded by his brother William, who held it till the close of the war, and with his brother Charles made a daring but unsuccessful attempt to recover their home from the Parliamentarians. It had been taken in 1644 by Colonel Purefoy with a party of four hundred foot and three hundred horse, that lay before Compton Wynyates for two days, drove the park, killed all the deer, defaced the monuments in the church, and

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1 Clarendon, *The Rebellion*, vi., 283.

2 From a touching letter from James to his mother in *The Battaile on Hopton Heath*, printed by H. Hall, 1643. Copied in Beesley's *History of Banbury*.

carried off to Banbury, besides officers and soldiers, £5,500 in money, 60 horses, 400 sheep, "near an 100 head of cattell, eighteen loads of excellent plunder," and five or six earthen pots of money, afterwards found in a fish-pond.[1]

There is a tradition that a considerable number of the Cavaliers who had been wounded in the attack remained in the house when it was taken; they were said to have been concealed by Lady Northampton in the roofs, which are entered by a trap door, and were tended by her, presumably escaping without the Puritan garrison knowing anything about it.

The Roundheads held the house till the surrender of Banbury in 1646. During this time it had to sustain a violent attack by the "valiant Comptons" and part of the garrison of Banbury, a vivid account of which is given by Sergeant-Major Purefoy in a letter to his colonel and kinsman, Colonel Purefoy.[2]

From this account it would appear that there was a second court in front of the present house, defended by a "great drawbridge" and outworks, and that a stone bridge crossed the moat, defended by a sconce or temporary wooden screen. The house stood behind all these, and so escaped damage. The moat was probably filled up in the eighteenth century, when the family thought Compton damp, but warmer than Castle Ashby as a winter residence. The stables and outbuildings were finally cleared away by Charles, third Marquis, when the approach to the house was turned into its present condition of open lawn.

The Parliamentary party allowed James Lord Northampton to enjoy his estates in peace on his paying

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1 Incorrectly copied in Beesley's *History of Banbury* from John Vicars' *England's Parliamentarie Chronicle*, printed 1644; also referred to in Dugdale's *Diary* and Whitelocke's *Memorials*.

2 Beesley's *History of Banbury;* another version in *Compton Wynyates*, from a pamphlet in the British Museum.

a heavy composition,[1] and he passed through various changes of fortune till the Restoration, when, at the entrance of the King into the city of London, he led a troop of gentlemen in grey and blue. Under Charles II. he was a member of the Privy Council, Constable of the Tower, Lord-Lieutenant of Warwickshire and the city of Coventry, Recorder of the same and of Northampton and Tamworth. He died at Castle Ashby, and was buried at Compton, the church of which, having been demolished in the Civil War, he rebuilt between 1656-65; his initials and the latter date appear on one of the rain-water heads.

His younger brother, William, is one of the most gallant figures in the Compton pedigree, who, in his eighteenth year, in 1642, was given by his father the command of a regiment, by which he rendered signal service to the royal cause at the taking of Banbury. He led his men on to three attacks, and had two horses shot under him. Upon the surrender of the town and castle, he was made lieutenant-governor under his father, and brought over many to the King's interest. He received the honour of knighthood at Oxford on December 12th, 1643.

When the Parliamentary forces of Northamptonshire, Warwick, and Coventry, who were aggrieved by Sir William's continual incursions, came before the town of Banbury on 19th July, 1644, he returned answer to their summons "that he kept the castle for His Majesty, and, as long as one man was left alive in it, willed them not to expect to have it delivered." Afterwards they sent another summons, to which he replied "that he had formerly answered them, and wondered they would send again." So vigilant was he that he countermined the enemy eleven

[1] He probably made alterations and repairs to his house and outbuildings after the damage they must have undergone, putting in windows with plain mouldings and a transom, of a darker stone. The original windows were of yellow stone and pointed-arched. Some of these were afterwards replaced by sashes. The sashes were put in by George, fourth Earl, and have since been re-converted into Gothic windows.

times, and during the siege, which lasted thirteen weeks, never went to bed, but by his example so animated the garrison that they would never suffer another summons to be sent to them. At length, on 26th October, his brother, the Earl of Northampton, raised the siege, and when the whole kingdom was submitting to the Parliament, he, on the 8th of May, 1646, surrendered upon honourable terms.

As major-general of the King's forces at Colchester, when that town was besieged by General Fairfax, he, by his instructions and example, kept the garrison in some competent order, while they were enduring the greatest privations, before they surrendered on the 28th August, 1648. Sir William, after being kept as a prisoner for some time, was set at liberty. He was so much taken notice of for his admirable behaviour, that Cromwell called him "the sober young man and the godly Cavalier." He was one of the six called the "Sealed Knot," from the privacy of their councils in managing all the eight attempts made for the restoration of Charles II. from 1652 to 1659. After the Restoration he was Member of Parliament for the borough of Cambridge, and Charles appointed him Master of the Ordnance. He died suddenly in London in 1663, but was buried at Compton Wynyates, where a monument was erected to his memory.

George, fourth Earl, did a good deal both for Compton and Castle Ashby, where he planted the great avenue. He was succeeded in 1727 by his son James, whose initials "I. N." are on the leaden rain-water pipes at both places. He, to his discredit, prepared the walls for papering, and hid some of the old Gothic chimney-pieces under slabs of marble. Probably by James, the east wing at the back of the hall was built, as Lord Northampton observes that it is built on "a crypt with the Roman cross vaulting in brick on square pillars, as used at that period."[1] James

[1] *Compton Wynyates*, by the Marquis of Northampton, 1904.

also fixed the water heads when he heightened the walls round the courtyard, which addition to the height is shown by the difference in the bricks.

It was Spencer, the eighth Earl, who proved a notorious and extravagant owner of Compton Wynyates, and nearly brought about its total destruction. In 1768 he took an active part in a contested election to nominate a member for the borough of Northampton. His opponents were Lord Spencer and Lord Halifax; the latter was ruined by the struggle, and the former not only spent £130,000, but left a legacy of debt on his estate besides. The large amount of drinking that went on during an election in those days was astonishing; and it is said that after draining Lord Halifax's cellars of port, the electors were offered claret, and this not being to their liking, they migrated in a body to clear out the port at Castle Ashby. It is not surprising that even Lord Northampton was reduced to cutting down his timber, and, after selling most of his furniture at Castle Ashby, and the whole of it at Compton, he spent the rest of his life in Switzerland. Before going abroad, orders had been given that Compton should be pulled down, as he could not afford to repair it; but, by good luck, the faithful steward of the estate, John Berrill, did his best to keep out the weather and preserve the house for posterity, for he said he was sure the family would return there some day. Most of the windows were bricked up to save window tax, and the glorious old building, within whose walls kings and queens had been entertained, remained bare and desolate for many years, excepting a small portion used as a farmhouse.

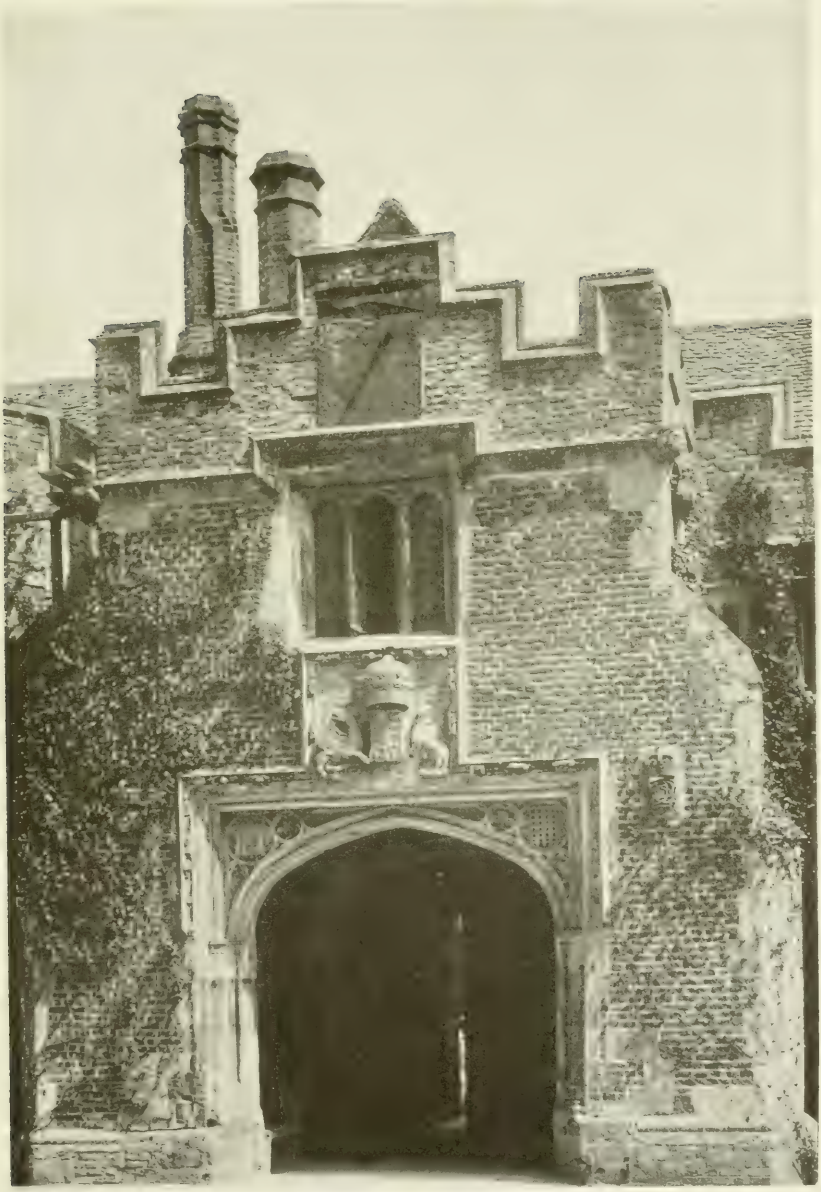
Fortune, however, has favoured it once more, and its later owners have repaired it with taste and care. Charles, third Marquis, in 1860 employed Sir Digby Wyatt to rebuild the great staircase, and the Tudor windows, that had been altered in Queen Anne's time, were restored from his own drawings; also the hall screen, which had

been painted white, was cleaned and repaired among many necessary restorations. William, fourth Marquis, built a new home for the farm tenant, and so recovered the use of the whole house. The present Marquis has laid out the garden to match the old place, and already the yew hedges and *parterres* of roses and gillyflowers appear as though they have had an uninterrupted existence from the days of hoops and periwigs. The lawn, where once the water flowed in the moat, intervenes between the garden and the south side of the house, where the chapel window is the central feature; and creepers climb round the drawing-room windows and up the towers, the bright green of their leaves bringing out the warm tones of the crimson brickwork. The highest gable in this front is that of the "Roman Catholic Chapel." One of its windows looks out on the parapet, and beneath, facing west, is the four-light one of the "Guard-room." Many of the smaller windows in various parts of the house indicate the position of staircases, and of queer little rooms or cupboards. Most old houses contain these recesses, but the number of both them and the staircases at Compton is remarkable.

It has been generally accepted that the first building of Compton Wynyates as it stands now, was between 1509 and Sir William's death in 1528, but in his account of Compton Wynyates, the Marquis of Northampton gives a plan to show that the major part of the house, the main four sides of the square, is of the date of Henry VII., and that William Compton added to it only, and gives as reasons for so thinking that—

"A superficial examination soon proves that all the projecting features that form the picturesque grouping and sky-line, including the galleried chapel, are additions to the original simpler form of the house; and as the earliest of these was undoubtedly added 1512-1520, it seems certain that in Henry VII.'s reign there was a brick house which forms part of the present building."

The projecting features put in the plan as Sir William's additions, consist of the porch and semi-octangular turrets



Compton Wynyates: Entrance Porch.

on the west, north, and south sides, the high blocks at the north-east and south-east corners, and the building which includes the chapel on the south front.

The points that make for this assumption, as given by Lord Northampton, are, firstly, that the bay window and timber roof of the hall have certainly been altered from the original plan, or added to an already existing house; secondly, that in some of the windows the spandrels are partly filled with carving, partly hollow; thirdly—

"The dining-room originally extended much further. The wooden cornice goes the whole length of that side the house. When the chapel was added by Sir W. Compton, the partition was built between the dining-room and ante-chapel, and, as the light from the larger window was cut off, the present window in the dining-room was inserted. The difference between the two windows [into the court from the dining-room and ante-chapel] is apparent, and, as suggested above, they may be of different dates, or one or both may have been brought from Fulbrooke and added to. The cutting of the wooden cornice, where the large entrance was made out of the original wall into the chapel, is very primitive."

Fourthly—

"The addition of the N.W. corner is very apparent, as it bisects the older gable; and while one iron clamp to strengthen that gable is outside the addition, the other is inside one of the bedrooms."

And fifthly, the old oak ceiling, now visible on the bedroom floor at the end of the Minstrels' Gallery, may have once continued over the hall.

"The extra piece of wall at the east end of the hall may have supported the older ceiling. There does not seem to be any other explanation for it."

* * * * * * *

"From all these indications it seems certain that Sir William Compton beautified by additions and adornments a plain square house, which can be traced by the yard-thick outer wall, the plinth of which can be still seen on the kitchen wall inside the N.W. [north-east] corner, and also in the chapel."

There is little doubt the house was altered, added to, and beautified by Sir William, but whether the main fabric to which he added was a plain square house built

by himself, or whether it was one he inherited, it is difficult to say with certainty, though the balance of evidence is in favour of his having done the whole of the work. There is no monetary reason against assigning the building of it to his father, who was of sufficient importance to leave his son as a ward of the King; on the other hand, Sir William became a far richer man, who would naturally think well to house himself in a grander way than that with which his ancestors had been content, and more befitting the position of a favoured courtier of the lavish, lordly King Henry VIII. Amongst the many offices he held was that of Keeper of Fulbroke Park, and according to Leland, "seeing it goe to ruine helped it forward takinge Part of it (as some saye) for the Buildinge of his house at Compton." Moreover, there is no feature of the architecture of the main construction of anterior date to the latter part of the reign of Henry VII., which would bring it to after 1493, in which year Edmund Compton died.

A curious question therefore arises as to what parts of the house, if any, were brought from Fulbroke, which was distant about fourteen miles. The buildings there were ruinous in 1478, though not of great age, as in the time of Richard II. Joan Lady Bergavenny had built there a gatehouse and lodge; and after that, some time previous to his death in 1436, John Duke of Bedford, brother of Henry V., had erected a castle of brick and stone, from which castle tradition says those wonderful brick chimneys were transported in panniers on donkeys; this, however, is not likely, as they are of a later date than the Duke of Bedford's castle, certainly not earlier than 1500. The hall roof, as will be noticed later, is most likely the chief feature that came thence.

Facing west is the entrance front: the two gables, with their carved black barge-boards, are of different heights, and at different distances from the entrance porch; that on the right contained the officers' quarters of olden

days. The porch, both inside and out, is a most attractive feature. Over the arch are the arms of Henry VIII., supported by a dragon on the dexter and a greyhound on the sinister side, and surmounted by a crown, on which is inscribed **Dom. Rex. Henricvs. Octav.** The hollow moulding of the dripstone is carved with figures of roses, lizards, and, in one corner, a rose and pomegranate twisted together. On each side is the Tudor rose under a crown. One spandril of the arch is filled with an uncommon device of Katharine of Aragon, made up on a shield, of a picturesque form of the triple-towered castle of Castile, the pomegranate of Granada, and the sheaf of arrows, a cognisance of her mother Isabella; the other spandril has the portcullis, a badge of Henry VIII. The stones inserted in the wall on each side of the porch probably have connection with the parapet of the bridge that crossed the moat; the house being domestic would not be likely to have had a drawbridge, and that the bridge was a stone one at the time of the Civil War is known from Major Purefoy's letter previously referred to. Inside the arch on each side are stone benches, also doors, which gave access to the moat. The old double oak doors, moulded with linen pattern outside and strongly panelled within, bear the marks of a long and faithful service. The spy window or lamp-holder, which is of fine design in ironwork, has been removed for better preservation and hung in the hall; it seems of earlier date than the house, so may possibly have come from Fulbroke.

On the left on entering are the doorway of the porter's lodge and a blocked-up niche, through which he probably carried on communications. Inside the lodge is another spy-hole, blocked up, and a staircase giving access to the turret for the purpose of reconnoitring anyone that approached. Beautiful as is the outside, the inner court-yard loses nothing by comparison, every feature there might be the same as it was long ago; the repose and grandeur of the building bring to one's spirit a feeling

of intense reverence in the presence of such memorials of the past.

The grand bay window of the hall is the most prominent feature in the court, with its eight lights, mullioned and transomed; both inside and out above the lights it is enriched with cusped panels; outside they are above the hood moulding in two tiers, divided by a string course and finished with battlements. The work is characteristic of an earlier period than the sixteenth century, and may well have come from Fulbroke.[1]

The door opens into the passage formed out of the hall by the screen, which has been roofed over for the advantage of warmth. The two doors corresponding with the kitchen and buttery doors opposite are new, but most of the panels enriched with linen pattern are old, older possibly than the central one, which illustrates the "Deeds of Compton," a quaint collection of knights in armour, some on horseback, slaying and being slain in extraordinary attitudes. In the centre of this panel are the arms of Sir William, bearing the augmentations granted by Henry VIII.

The hall extends to the full height of the house, and has a finely moulded open timber roof springing from a richly carved cornice, which may have come from Fulbroke.

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1 Lord Northampton, in *Compton Wynyates*, says:—"It is tolerably certain, however, that the greater part of the bay-window of the Hall is of older date, for two reasons—the two carved heads that form the termination of the hood-mould over the arched heads of the window openings have a coiffure and head-dress of earlier times than Henry VIII., and the Comptons' crest (a demi-dragon erased gules within a coronet of gold granted by that king) above the centre window is a separate piece of stone, which would hardly have been the case unless it were an addition. Another similar crest inside is also an addition, and in this case the lower half of the shield is detached from the stonework behind. The traceried band in which the shields occur has obviously belonged to a different and smaller bay window, because the wider panel which contains the shields is no longer in the centre, having three panels on the right and four on the left. The stone jointing shows that the centre panel on the left is an addition required for the greater width of the bay in which it is now placed. The battlemented parapet over this band is a further addition, possibly added when the eaves were removed and the walls heightened."

Compton Wynyates: Inside of the Porch.

The roof was evidently made originally for a larger place, as the wall-posts are cut off in irregular lengths and do not rest on corbels, as they should rightly do; also, the louvre is not in the centre, and the cornice appears to be put together; moreover, it is all quite Gothic in character.

Behind the screen rises the picturesque "half-timbered" walls of the Minstrels' gallery, which had all been plastered up and painted white, like the screen, till its beauty was discovered a few years ago; gallery is indeed a misnomer in this instance, for it is a room with a separate window, and unglazed openings to the hall. The daïs from the opposite end has disappeared; an old table still remains—an enormous slab 23 feet long and 30 inches wide, resting on modern trestles; which may have been used for "shovel-board," a popular game in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, no hall being complete without its board. This fine slab survived the sale of furniture after the spendthrift election, and remains in the hall with two other survivors—an old leathern jack and an iron chest with a curious intricate lock, that was discovered imbedded in a corridor wall. How one wishes there still remained some of the old suits of armour which had clothed the retainers, or, better still, the suit of the gallant Earl Spencer, which "was so good that they could not hurt him, till he was downe and had undone his head-piece." [1]

Adjoining the hall is the present dining-room, formerly a parlour, of which the ceiling, with the Compton and Spencer arms, is of William, the first Earl's time. Next to the dining-room is the archway leading to the great staircase, which has undergone an alteration from Wyatt's design; the ceiling was copied in 1860 from Canonbury Tower.[2] This part of the east side of the house is of

1 His son James's letter before referred to.
2 The gate-house of Sir John Spencer's country house in Islington.

later date than the hall. Over the dining-room is the drawing-room, a most pleasant apartment, with an old high window overlooking the court, and a bow and other re-inserted windows towards the garden, letting in the southern sun. The walls are enriched with handsome oak panelling brought by Charles, third Marquis, from Canonbury Tower, including the carving over the mantelpiece, the cornice over which is modern, as, too, are the doors, though the doorways apparently belong to the Elizabethan style of Sir John Spencer's time; the ceiling, which was restored when the oak was put up, is another of the few additions made by William in the time of Elizabeth; it also displays the Compton and Spencer arms. A doorway in the wall opened originally on to a gallery in the chapel, which would have been made when the panels of the adjoining room were plastered up. The most luxurious way of attending prayers is exemplified in this adjoining "Chapel" drawing-room, where, without leaving their seats by the blazing logs, the ladies could hear the minister and join in the responses if they thought fit. The room is panelled in oak; eight of the lowest panels open in pairs giving directly on to the chapel, facing the large south window where the altar stood; it is a most curious contrivance. Beyond this room is the so-called "bedchamber of Henry VIII.," where the window is of four lights, containing in each some good old painted glass, the arms of Henry VIII. and Katharine of Aragon, and their badges, the Tudor rose and the Castle of Castile, this last being the only one imperfect; they are surmounted by crowns, and the whole are remarkably well drawn. The ceiling was put up by Spencer in the reign of Charles I., and displays the arms of that King, and Henry VIII., Elizabeth, and James I., interspersed with roses and thistles.

Close by this room is one only seven feet square, communicating with a secret hiding-place above by a

Compton Wynyates: Bay Window.

little narrow staircase which has a slot for observation, formerly concealed by panelling.

Up a circular stair in the great tower is the "Guard-room" or "Council Chamber," whose walls are covered with wainscot boards of split oak, showing the graining in a better way than sawn wood; the band of carving running round the doors is modern, probably occupying the place of old work. The beautiful ceiling, now restored, is of the date of Spencer, second Earl, but contains no historical allusions like the "Henry VIII. room" ceiling, which was his erection also. Over the fireplace are marks of fire, showing doubtless the carelessness of the Parliamentary garrison; but the tough oak fortunately stood a certain amount of burning with impunity. The room was well chosen for a meeting place, as those concerned could approach or leave hastily by different ways; there are six doors in the room, three giving access to newel staircases, one of which leads to the chapel above, passing by the "Priest's hiding hole," containing a window; another door leads into a tiny room having a trap-door and well-hole; and another now opens into a space at the back of the fireplace (if this was a hiding hole the doorway must be of late date).

The "Roman Catholic Chapel" or "Priest's Room" is an extraordinary place, which tradition says was used as a Romish chapel in the days of persecution. There were many recusants in the neighbourhood, and this top room being doubtless a safe spot to worship in, the gallant protection of the Comptons might have been extended to them; or more probably it was a private chapel for some member of the family. The room is in the roof, the sloping timbers forming the walls, with plaster between, and a cupboard behind the chimney appears to have been another hiding-place; three other doors are at the head of as many staircases. Fixed beneath the south-west window is a slab of elm four feet long by seventeen inches wide, said to have been used

as an altar; it certainly has marks which might be called rudimentary consecration crosses, but they are seven instead of five, and it has no recess for the necessary stone containing a relic. The beauty of the room is the oak doorway, exquisitely carved with trophies, birds, and leaves in the finest Renaissance style; whether it has always belonged to this room is doubtful; probably not, as it is unlike anything else in the house. It is a pity the insides of the jamb capitals have been cut out, and the original spandrils with the old fastening have gone.

What are termed "the Barracks," from having been the quarters of Colonel Purefoy's soldiers, are over the drawing-room; formerly a great open space, but now divided off into servants' rooms, the passage running along being lighted by similar dormer windows to those seen on the south side of the court. The huge oak tie-beams and rafters that have formed the trusty framework of the roof through various vicissitudes intercept the passage at intervals, though they can be better seen in their original uncleaned aspect in another part, where the wounded Royalists are said to have been hid. At the eastern end of the barracks is a room with a charming view up the hill, probably used by the captain of the guard; it has a newel staircase descending, now blocked up. At the western end is the little oriel window in one of the half-timbered gables; the carved sill is upwards of 19 inches thick and 17 inches deep.

In a four-light window on the south side of the court, over a door leading to the chapel, are very good coloured glass medallions of the red dragon crest; the one on the dexter side is surrounded by a blue border of ten Tudor roses. The chapel, whose large window is a notable feature outside, is at present dismantled inside. The only feature left is the screen of whitewashed wood, worth noting because of its carved panels at the head of religious grotesque subjects, which may have come from Fulbroke.

The stained glass that formerly filled the great window is said to have been a replica of that given to Balliol College, Oxford.[1]

In the south-west angle of the quadrangle lies the traditional "jail," a dark, stone-floored room, with a low barred window; more likely used as a cellar, or as a kitchen for the garrison, as the staircase outside leads up to the barracks. Another curiosity is the lion's head carved in stone inserted in the courtyard wall by the buttery window, which is said to have run with wine on festive occasions; a stone basin is fixed underneath. Close to the house, but surrounded now by trees, is an old brick dovecote; a pitched stone path formerly led beside it from the house to the mill-pool, to which the water descended through two stew-ponds from the moat, all of which remain, and a pleasant, dreamy little path it still is. It is interesting to note that the pool was obtained in all probability by excavating clay to make bricks for the house. Some of the old red ridge-tiles on the roof still retain their oak-leaf cresting, making a nice finish. Just beyond the dovecote is the church, interesting as of a style and date very uncommon in church building. The original one, in which the ancestors of the first Sir William Compton were buried, was completely demolished when the Parliamentarians besieged the house. It was

1 It represented, according to Dugdale, "the Passion of our Saviour," and in the lower part Sir William's "portraiture, as also that of his lady, both kneeling in their surcoats of arms."

He gives in his *Warwickshire* an engraving of the figures and arms from the Balliol window, with the inscription underneath:—

"Willelmus Compton Miles cum pia consorte sua hanc fenestram vitrari fecit Aº DIN 1530."

Balliol was building a new chapel between the years 1521 and 1529; Anthony Wood, writing some years later than Dugdale, describes the Compton window in it, but there appears no record of its state at the time the chapel was pulled down in the middle of the nineteenth century. Now (1907) all that remains are the two armorial shields in the third window from the east, on the north side, and the kneeling figures of Sir William and his two sons in the rose window to the west. The Compton window was apparently one of a set of similar donations, judging by the fragments of the old windows now inserted in the Undergraduates' Library of the College.

rebuilt by Earl James between 1656 and 1665, which latter date, with his initials "I.N.," appears on leaden spouts. The church consists of nave and aisle of equal width and length, there being only two or three similar examples in England; and contains a few broken family monuments rescued after the Restoration from the moat, into which they had been thrown. Such indignities did the effigies of the great Sir William and Henry, first Lord Compton, suffer. Let us hope the clashing sword and din of strife will never again disturb the resting-place of the second Sir William, that "sober young man and godly Cavalier," who lies under the shadow of his home, for which and his King he had fought so well.

With its glorious colour so responsive to the awakening touch of the summer sunlight, it is hard to bid this grand old house farewell—one of England's matchless

> "Ancient homes of lord and lady,
> Built for pleasure and for state."

ALICE DRYDEN.

PRE-REFORMATION MONASTIC ESTABLISHMENTS

ALMOST from the first century of Christianity the religious instinct has inspired some chosen souls to give themselves with greater strictness than was possible to all to the contemplation of the things of God and to the fulfilment of His commandments. "Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this, To visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world." In these words of St. James the religious orders of the Church found their charter and their guide, and in the pursuance of either the retired life of the ascetic or the kindly activities of Christian charity, or in an harmonious blending of the two, the various religious orders of the catholic church fulfil their diverse vocations and maintain from age to age the principles which gave them birth and the traditions which have moulded their history. It is not, we fear, generally realised that order differed from order in its purpose, system, and life as widely as, let us say, one branch of the civil service, one regiment of the army, differs from another. Readers who would smile at such ignorance as should be incapable of distinguishing between a cavalry regiment and a foot regiment, between the Excise and the Board of Education, pass over in ignorant acquiescence such a misuse of the familiar words monk, canon, friar, as is only too common among those to whom such people are no longer

living realities. Yet the terms imply a very real difference, and in old times were used to designate three widely-varying modes of thought and system. It were too long a task to discuss the history of the gradual formation of the various bodies known as the monastic orders; let it suffice here to say that, practically, by the time St. Augustine was about to enter on his work of the evangelization of England, the rule of St. Benedict, Abbat of Monte Cassino, near Naples, who died in A.D. 542, had, save in Ireland and other outlying parts of christendom, already been received, or was fast winning its way to recognition as the standard norm of monastic life. This rapid and far-reaching expansion it owed, not alone to the renown of its writer for sanctity and the accidental advantage it possessed as the recognised rule of the greater number of the religious houses of Rome and Italy, but far more to its own native sanity and reasonableness. It avoided the extreme rigorism of the oriental rules for religious life, but it compensated for this apparent departure from the high standard of personal austerity which they required by obliging its followers to a life-long fidelity to their vows, and this by a promise of stability or steadfastness in the religious community in which they had taken on themselves the habit and life of a monk. So that it came about that with the practically universal acceptance of the Benedictine rule, a monk came to denote a religious man attached for life by his vow of stability to some definite monastery; that a Benedictine monastery came to be a fixed point in the ecclesiastical system, with its own permanent religious family, its local interests, influence and traditions. To this day there is not a monk in the Western Church who is not a life-member, so to say, of some recognised monastery or community with a fixed and permanent home. With later forms of religious life, with the friars for instance, or the more modern institutes like the Jesuits, it is otherwise.

BENEDICTINE MONASTERIES

As the Benedictine order was the first to establish itself in England, we will deal with the houses which it owned in Warwickshire before passing to those of other institutes. The first in order of importance as of foundation was the abbey, or, as it was soon to become, the cathedral priory of Coventry.

COVENTRY

There had been a community of nuns in Coventry before the eleventh century, but of its history little or nothing is known, save the tradition that St. Osburg was its abbess about the year 1016, and that the house perished during the Danish invasion. Some years later it was refounded for an abbat and twenty-four monks by Leofric, Earl of Mercia, and his countess, Godiva, in the reign of the Confessor, and so continued in growing importance and wealth till in 1102 Bishop Robert de Limesay, who governed the church in the midland cities of Chester, Lichfield, and Coventry, abandoned Chester and set up his see in the church of the monks at Coventry. Resenting this high-handed action, they were made to feel the bishop's wrath, and were for a time dispossessed of both church and monastery. Soon, however, they came to their own again, and the house flourished once more, sharing with Lichfield in the episcopal title and honours of the great Mercian see. The wealth of the house was very great, its churches and lands numerous. Its head, the cathedral prior, ranked with the mitred abbats of his order, and was summoned as a spiritual peer to Parliament. Like the other great Benedictine minsters, Coventry was a self-governing community, round which centred all manner of interests, ecclesiastical, literary, and social. The nucleus of all was its community of resident monks, probably in its flourishing days, some forty or fifty in

number, besides novices, lay brethren, scholars, clerks, and servants, governed by its prior, to whom, in most matters, the diocesan bishop, who was technically abbat of the house, left the administration of its spiritual and temporal affairs. Like other Benedictine communities, that of Coventry appointed its own officials, educated and trained its own subjects in its own cloisters, governed its various properties, supervised its dependent churches, and for the four centuries of its existence filled an honourable and useful place in mediæval society. It was by its wealth and social importance a powerful factor in the life of the times during which it flourished, was the chief school of the city and county, the general archivium of the midlands, the chief house of entertainment for high and low whose journeyings brought them to the city. It was in the cathedral priory of Coventry that Henry IV., in 1404, assembled that Parliament which has been known ever since as the "Parliamentum Indoctorum," the unlearned Parliament, because all lawyers were excluded from its deliberations. Nor need this selection of a Benedictine monastery surprise us, for the great mother of Parliaments at Westminster held its assemblies for centuries in the Chapter House of that famous abbey, which thus became not the least valuable of the links which united the people of England with the monks, who had first taught the Christian faith and civilization to their ancestors. It was at Coventry Priory, too, that Henry V. was staying in his youth, when, as tradition has it, he was arrested by Master Hornby, mayor of the city. That Royal devotee, King Henry VI., ever a friend of the monks, was often their guest at Coventry with his Queen, the valiant Margaret. Edward IV. was here in 1465, and again in 1474; Richard III. kept the festival of Corpus Christi in this great Benedictine cathedral. These, however, were but the occasional distractions of a quiet routine of study and the business of a large establishment. The education of the young, the daily

hours spent in the transcription of books in the scriptorium, the preparation of the more promising members of the community for their university course, to which so many of them proceeded, the oversight of their estates and churches, took up so much of their time as was not occupied in the daily and nightly performance of the choral office, and the solemn masses which were daily sung in the cathedral. Coventry was one of those "great and solemn monasteries" of the realm, wherein, as Parliament testified under Henry VIII., "religion was right well kept and observed." At the suppression, its great church, which is said to have resembled Lichfield Cathedral, and to have been graced with three tall spires, was levelled with the dust, and its riches scattered. Nothing is now left of all its past magnificence, save a few stones marking the western limit of its nave and aisles, and some fragments of the episcopal palace which stood to the north-east of the cathedral. When it stood in its majesty, with its magnificent daughter churches of the Trinity and St. Michael, still happily spared to us, grouped around it, the scene must have been one of the stateliest in the whole of christendom. It is to be hoped that some day further and careful exploration may reveal the place of the cloisters and other parts of the monastery, which lay to the north of the vanished cathedral.

ALCESTER

Scarcely as much is left of the abbey of Alcester as of the cathedral priory of Coventry. This house was established in the fifth year of Stephen's reign (1139-40) by Ralph Boteler, and was known as the Abbey of Our Lady of the Isle; we find, too, the name of St. Joseph included in its full title, it being probably the earliest church in Europe so named. The monastery was an independent foundation for the first three hundred and

thirty years of its history. Then it fell into decay, and was annexed as a dependency to the abbey of Evesham, in the adjoining county of Worcester. Its site is now in part occupied by the Grammar School, and is known as Birch Abbey, on the northern side of Alcester, near the river Arrow. Nothing is to be seen of it but some fragments of wall imbedded in the modern school buildings. With the exception of Avecot, a cell to the monastery of Great Malvern, the Black Monks possessed no other establishment in Warwickshire at the time of the general suppression of the religious houses.

BENEDICTINE NUNS

POLESWORTH

The origin of the Benedictine nuns is usually ascribed to St. Scholastica, sister of St. Benedict, who governed a small religious house for women at no great distance from her brother's monastery at Monte Cassino. Following the example of the western monks, the nuns of the Benedictine Order gave themselves to a life of prayer, study, and labour of various kinds. The Opus Dei, or daily measure of psalmody and reading, was carried on by day and night as in the houses of monks; the convents were the schools of Christian maidenhood for centuries, and a high standard of literary culture and, as was to be expected, of the more feminine achievement in art needlework and embroidery was reached in their innumerable homes up and down christendom, from Greenland to Cyprus, from the Baltic to the Atlantic. The share the English Benedictine nuns took in St. Boniface's work in the conversion of Germany is not likely to be forgotten. From the sixth century the Benedictine rule was generally followed in convents, and almost certainly prevailed at

Polesworth Church.

Polesworth, where the first monastery of any kind in Warwickshire was erected for religious women by King Egbert, who, according to the most probable version of the story, invited St. Modwena to his kingdom, and entrusted to her care his daughter, the future St. Edith, for whose sake he founded this royal abbey of Polesworth. The house was refounded in the reign of King Stephen by Robert Marmion, and its community, consisting of an abbess and twelve nuns, was dissolved in 1539. The actual establishment was probably much larger, for lay sisters and servants, boarders, children under instruction, and chaplains and stewards, were all, so to say, on the list of inmates. The parish church of St. Edith includes part of the old conventual church, and the nuns' refectory, a fine apartment, thirty-four feet long by twenty-four broad, having an open timber roof, is incorporated in the modern vicarage.

WROXALL

At Wroxall, three miles north of Hatton, between Warwick and Birmingham, stood the priory of St. Leonard, established for Black Benedictine nuns about 1141 by Hugh de Hatton. Its church, or perhaps its Lady chapel, built about 1315, is still standing; it consists of nave and chancel under one continuous roof, with no chancel arch. It preserves its ancient east window of five lights, and the windows on the north side, some of them with old stained glass in them, and two on the south, date from mediæval times. One of the old bells in still in use. The priory buildings were to some extent retained, and formed part of the mansion erected by Robert Burgoyne soon after the suppression of the monastery; the chapter house, refectory, and other apartments may still be traced. The Scudamores succeeded to the Burgoynes, and after them the place was owned by Sir Christopher Wren, who at times resided here. Wroxall was probably—with the

notable exceptions of Lacock Abbey, in Wiltshire, and Jesus College, Cambridge, once the nunnery of St. Radegonde—the completest fragment of an old English convent which the Reformation has spared, till 1866, when a new mansion was erected to the west of the old buildings.

NUNEATON

A convent was established at Nuneaton about 1150 for Benedictine nuns by Robert Bossa, Earl of Leicester. The foundations and other fragments of the old St. Mary's Priory were incorporated in the modern parish church of the same dedication, erected in 1878, the nave of which is, as far as was possible, a reproduction of the old nave of the nuns' church.

CISTERCIAN HOUSES

After the Benedictine order had flourished for about five hundred years, a movement began among some of its members for a return to the literal and strict observance of the primitive rule of its founder. In the course of ages many changes had inevitably been introduced into the monastic life, and almost everywhere the very wide discretion granted by St. Benedict as regards work, food, clothing, and occupation had resulted in a great variety of observance and in considerable mitigation of the severity of earlier times. The movement inaugurated by St. Robert, Abbot of Molesme, and the English St. Stephen Harding, resulted in the establishment of the abbey of Cisteaux, or Citeaux, wherein everything was to be done to secure as accurately as possible the literal observance of St. Benedict's rule. Under the influence of St. Bernard, of Clairvaux, the power of Citeaux waxed great in the Church, and by the strongly centralised government which marked the new institute, and by the

return to manual and field work as the chief occupation of its monks, the Cistercian branch of the Benedictine order soon assumed a very different aspect from that which characterised the older and independent monasteries of the Black Monks. In external appearance, too, its homes were very different from those of the older order. Situated in remote and desert places, in woods and valleys by preference, far from the sight and sound of the world, the Cistercian monasteries were buildings of stern simplicity as befitted those Puritans of the monastic institute. No ornament was allowed in church or cloister, no carved statuary save a crucifix and an image of the mother of God, no elaborate chants, no gorgeous vestments. Poverty and primness were their external characteristics. Nor were theirs the studious labours, the teaching, the public social life which were associated with the houses of the Black Monks; instead, there was busy field work, spartan rigour in food and clothing and housing, an aloofness from the wider interests which filled so large a place in the older or black-robed Benedictines. The white Cistercians were in the beginning, and gloried in being, a protest in life and principle against the developments which five centuries had wrought in the original ideals of western monarchism. But with them, as with the parent stock, time worked changes, and at the end there was little, save their habit, to distinguish them from other Benedictines. The Cistercian institute was possessed of three monasteries in Warwickshire.

STONELEIGH

Though not the first to establish itself in the shire, Stoneleigh must rank first, as its monks were a settled community before they removed from Radmore, in Staffordshire, to Stoneleigh, four miles south of Coventry, on January 14th, 1155. This removal was in accordance with the wish of Henry II., who in 1154 had given them

lands at Stoneleigh in exchange for their property at Radmore. A good deal of the old monastic buildings are incorporated in Lord Leigh's mansion; part of the south aisle and transept of the church, with some remains of Norman work in the north-east corner, and of Perpendicular work in the south-east. The beautiful gate-house, with its adjoining hospice, a little to the north-west of the modern house, is supposed to have been erected by Abbat Robert de Hockele, who died in 1349; and the Abbat's house is well preserved. The abbey, surrendered by Abbat Thomas Tetbury and sixteen monks, was dissolved among the smaller monasteries in 1536.

MEREVALE

At Merevale, about a mile from Atherstone, there was another monastery of Cistercian monks, founded in 1149 by Robert Earl Ferrers. There is not very much to be seen of the old abbey, but parts of the foundation of the church may be traced, with portions of the cale-factory and refectory, the latter with its old pulpit or reading place. St. Mary's, the parish church of Merevale, retains as its nave the old outer or guest chapel of the monastery, though its aisles and chancel have disappeared. A remarkable western gallery seems to have been an old rood-loft; some fragments of stained glass are to be seen in the windows, and in the chancel of Mancetter church, not far off, is a window traditionally believed to have been brought from Merevale.

COMBE

The third Cistercian house in Warwickshire was that of Combe, founded by Richard de Camvill in the reign of Stephen, 1150, if, indeed, it were not established a little earlier than Stoneleigh. It was colonised from Waverley Abbey, in Surrey, the first Cistercian house erected in England. It grew in wealth and importance,

The Ruins of Merevale Abbey.

till its fall under Henry VIII. Like other Cistercian houses, its site, in a tract of country rendered fertile by centuries of cultivation, offered, like its neighbour house at Stoneleigh, inducements to the new gentry of the Reformation period; and, accordingly, we find John Lord Harrington converting the east, south, and west sides of the old cloister court into a very commodious and handsome mansion for himself and family in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The church has disappeared, but large portions of the old abbey are standing as part of the modern mansion, which was in great measure rebuilt in 1861.

PINLEY—CISTERCIAN NUNS

There were Cistercian nuns as well as monks, who followed, as far as circumstances allowed, the same severe manner of life which their white-robed brethren adopted in the beginning of the reform inaugurated by St. Robert and St. Stephen. These nuns had one convent in Warwickshire, at Pinley, a place of little importance, not far from Coventry, where some remains of their dwelling may still be found.

THE CANONS REGULAR

One result of the revival of primitive strictness among the monks in the eleventh century was a corresponding movement among the clergy, and especially among those who lived together in collegiate bodies for the service of some great church. This was probably the origin of the wave of influence which led to the foundation of so many houses of Canons Regular in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Such spiritual or ministerial activity, external to their monastic homes, which the Benedictines or Cistercians exercised, was, as a rule (except in part in England and Germany where older ideas still in some measure survived), more or less accidental, and opposed

to the ideas of stricter claustral life which came in with the Normans; whereas the Canonical idea was first of all the work of the ministry, with the claustral life as a secondary matter. The Canons Regular were, as Erasmus, himself one of them, said, a "medium genus," a cross between the monks and the secular canons. The institute, which was much favoured by the Benedictine St. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, had its first foundation at Colchester (1105 or 1107), and before the movement which gave it birth had passed, 175 houses of Canons Regular had been set up in England. Like the Black Benedictines, each house was a body corporate under the diocesan; and like the Benedictines, the canons professed stability, so that their men and monasteries partook of that settled family life which was characteristic of the Black Monks. The reform movement among the canons was represented by the Premonstratensians or Norbertines, but as they had no house in Warwickshire, we need not speak of them further. The Black Canons of St. Augustine (they chose as their patron and claimed as their founder, the great Bishop of Hippo) had four houses in Warwickshire.

KENILWORTH

The priory of Kenilworth was begun in or about 1122, in the reign of Henry I., and owed its origin to the zeal of Geoffrey de Clinton. It was afterwards raised to the rank of an abbey, when its importance justified that honour. Its wealth was considerable, but nothing remains to show its former grandeur save a ruined gateway in the "Abbey fields." The place was surrendered by Abbat Jekys on April 12th, 1534.

STUDLEY

The priory of St. Mary, at Studley, near Redditch, was a small religious house established for canons in

the reign of Stephen by Peter Corbicon de Stodley. It stood on the west bank of the river Arrow, and fell among the lesser monasteries in the twenty-seventh year of Henry VIII. Part of the western gable of the church, some sculptured heads and other fragments, are incorporated into a farmhouse which occupies the site of this old house of prayer.

ARBURY,

Or, as it was formerly called, Erdbury, Orreby, or Orthbury, situated about seven miles north of Coventry, was a house of Black Canons, erected in the days of Henry II. (1154-1189) by Ralph de Sudeley. It was dissolved by a bull of Pope Clement VII. at the request of Cardinal Wolsey, who was casting about for means to establish his great college at Oxford. Arbury Hall, a mansion of dubious Gothic of the last century, now occupies the site, and is claimed to be the "Cheverel Manor" of George Eliot.

MAXSTOKE

Two miles south-east of Coleshill Station are the remains of the priory of Maxstoke, founded in the tenth year of Edward III. (1337) for a prior and twelve Canons Regular of St. Augustine by William de Clinton, Earl of Huntingdon. The monastery bore the title of SS. Mary, Michael, and All Saints. A farmhouse occupies its site, but the ruins of a noble gateway, the church tower, and other fragments, may still be seen near the parish church and under the shelter of the castle, which was another work of the same Lord William de Clinton.

CANONS OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE, WARWICK

An institute which was but scantily represented in England was that of the Canons Regular of the Holy

Sepulchre, whose house at Warwick was founded in 1124 by Henry de Newburgh, Earl of Warwick, on the site of an ancient church. The priory was dedicated to St. Helen, and, under the patronage of the Earls of Warwick and other benefactors, royal and noble, it became possessed of considerable wealth and large estates. The celebrated Thomas Hawkins, the son of a fishmonger, was in possession of the place in the reign of Queen Mary, and adapted two galleries of the old priory and part of the chapel into the noble house, his "Hawk's nest," wherein he entertained Queen Elizabeth.

CARTHUSIANS

THE CHARTERHOUSE OF ST. ANNE BY COVENTRY

One of the few English houses of the austere and contemplative order of St. Bruno, founder of the Chartreuse or Carthusian Monks, was that of St. Anne, at Shortley, near Coventry, which owed its origin to William, third Baron Zouch. These religious men were probably the most rigorous in their lives of any in the western church. They were less cenobitical than most monks, that is to say, they lived not as others did in large communities with all things in common, but in separate cells, meeting in their church for parts of the daily choral office, and dining in common only once a week. They never, under any circumstances, ate flesh meat, and seldom went beyond the enclosure of their monastery. Their only Warwickshire home was begun in 1381, and four years later the foundation stone of the permanent building was laid by King Richard II. Its ten monks surrendered the house to Henry VIII. on January 16th, 1538. One of the Coventry Carthusians, Dom Richards, was sent over to England in Mary's reign to

Maxstoke Priory: The Gateway.

assist D. Maurice Chauncy in the restoration of the order at Sheen-by-Richmond, Surrey. He died in 1557.

THE MENDICANT FRIARS

The thirteenth century saw the rise of many new religious orders on lines quite other than those with which the world had been familiar for the past seven hundred years. The Mendicant Friars, or begging brothers, had, in their early days, at least, no settled incomes, but lived on alms freely offered or begged from door to door. In the case of the Friars Minor or Franciscans, even their buildings were considered to belong to the Pope and not to the order. Nor were the friars, like monks and canons, considered to belong to any special monastery, nor were they, like them, governed by prelates whose office was perpetual. They had a freer organisation, and a more varied life; they gave themselves to preaching and teaching, and by their zeal and good works grew greatly in popular esteem. The county of Warwick possessed houses of the four chief mendicant orders.

DOMINICANS, OR FRIARS PREACHERS

The order of St. Dominic, or the Black Friars, so called from the black cloak which they wore over their white habit in pulpit and choir or when travelling, had a convent at Warwick, founded in the western suburb of the town in the reign of Henry III.

GREYFRIARS, FRIARS MINOR, or FRANCISCANS

The Franciscans were a very popular body owing to their work among the poor. Their only Warwickshire house was established at Coventry in 1234, and their church became a favourite place of burial. They were the chief organisers and actors in the celebrated Coventry

pageants, and performed before Richard III. in 1483, and Henry VII. and his Queen in 1492. The Grey Friars' church was a fine building, and the octagonal embattled tower and spire, dating from 1234, which had escaped destruction at the Reformation, were utilised in the building of the new Christ Church erected in 1830, and still form one of the many mediæval ornaments of the ancient city.

WHITE FRIARS, OR CARMELITES

Coventry possessed another house of friars, of the sort known as Carmelites, or White Friars, an order which seems to have had its origin on Mount Carmel during the time when the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem was in existence. Even if their continued existence from the days of Elias would be difficult to establish, their Eastern origin and their retention of many ancient customs would still invest them with uncommon interest. Their Coventry house was situated near the entrance of the town on the London road, and the place still bears the name of White Friars. On the ruin of the community by Henry VIII., the place became the home of the Hales family, who here entertained Queen Elizabeth when she visited the city in 1565. The place has come down in the world since it entertained royalty, and its considerable remains are now incorporated into the workhouse which occupies its site.

THE AUSTIN FRIARS

This institute, which seems to have grown up in Italy in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, had several houses in England; their only Warwickshire settlement was at Atherstone, where they were established through the good offices of Ralph, Lord Bassett, of Drayton, in 1375. The remains of their house were utilised by Sir

John Repington, of Amington, in the building of Atherstone Hall in 1620.

TRINITARIAN FRIARS

At Thelesford, near Wasperton, was a small convent, of which some remains exist, of Trinitarian or Maturin Friars, an order instituted by St. Felix of Valois and St. John of Matha. Their chief work was to collect alms, and otherwise labour at home and abroad for the redemption of Christians in captivity among the Moors.

OTHER RELIGIOUS HOUSES

No notice has been taken of the alien priories, chiefly of the Benedictine order, which did not survive as late as the general suppression under Henry VIII. There were several in the county, and they were, as their name implies, dependencies of some foreign abbey. The first to be set up in Warwickshire was that of Monks Kirby, a cell to the abbey of St. Nicholas, at Angers; it was founded in 1077, and suppressed in 1397. Wolston, a dependency of S. Pierre-sur-Dive, in Normandy, was begun about the same time, and was suppressed four years earlier. The monks of Conches, in Normandy, made a small foundation at Wooton Wawen about 1087; the house came to an end in 1444. Warmington, a cell to Preux, another Norman house, was the fourth of these alien establishments, which lost their *raison d'être* when the long connexion between England and Normandy was severed. These establishments, and many others of the same character in other parts of the country, came to an end, as a rule, during the long wars with France in the fifteenth century, and their estates were generally made over to some English foundation, or utilised

in the cause of education or charity. Nor has the house of Hospitaller Knights at Temple Balsall been included, for it was a lay establishment, though its members took religious vows. The beautiful church at Temple Balsall still stands a monument of the piety of these latter knights, and of their predecessors, the Templars.

D. GILBERT DOLAN, O.S.B.

SIR WILLIAM DUGDALE

IN any work on Warwickshire one does not need to read far before an acknowledgment is made by the author for information derived from the pages of Dugdale's *History of the County*. That work is the quarry from which the modern local historian draws the foundation stones for his edifice. It will be of interest, therefore, to give an account of the man who wrote it; the part he took in those stirring times; and to estimate the permanent value of his labour and writings.

The historian was born on September 12th, 1605, in the old Rectory at Shustoke, near Coleshill. It is related by Antony à Wood that at the time "was a swarm of bees in his father's garden, then esteemed by some a happy presage on behalf of the babe."

The family from which he sprang was one of yeomen at Clitheroe, in Lancashire, some of the members of which can be traced as holding positions in the neighbourhood, and others as being monks in the great abbey at that town. His father, John Dugdale (born 1552), had accompanied the sons of Lord Giles Paulet as tutor to Oxford. After a prolonged residence there as bursar and steward of St. John's College, he settled at Shustoke in 1596, on his marriage to Elizabeth Swinfen, of Swinfen, in Staffordshire.

In 1615, at the age of ten years, the son was sent to the Free School at Coventry for five years, after which he read law at home under his father's tuition. In 1623, at the early age of seventeen years, he married, in order

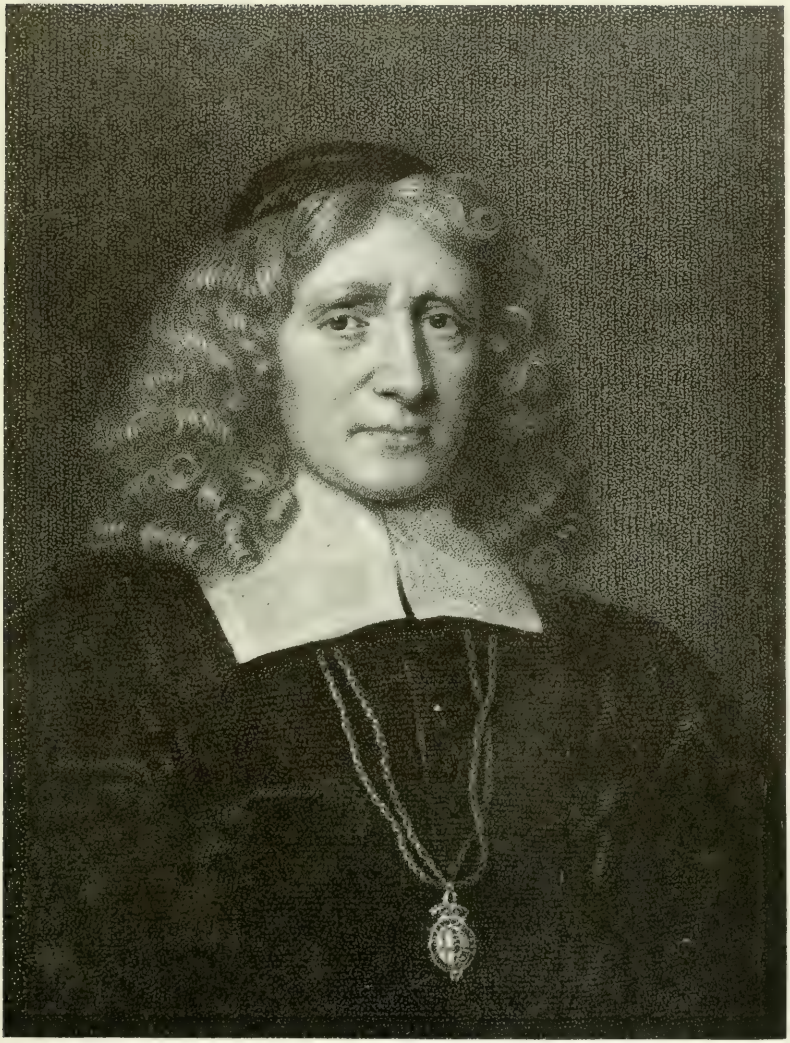
—according to his own account—to please his father, who was old and infirm, stricken with dead palsy. His wife was Margery Huntbach, daughter of John Huntbach, of Seawall, in Staffordshire, and he "tabled" with his father-in-law until his father's death in 1625.

After that event he bought Blyth Hall, near Coleshill, and the manor adjoining, which still remains in the possession of his descendants. He farmed much of the land himself, and his early diaries abound in details of his farming operations.

His first introduction to the study of history and antiquity was through the example and influence of a kinsman, Mr. Samuel Roper, a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, who interspersed his legal pursuits with antiquarian studies. As time went on he fell into a pleasant circle of antiquarian friends, beginning with his neighbour at Lindley, William Burton, author of the *Description of Leicestershire*, and Sir Simon Archer, of Tanworth, who had collected some materials dealing with the early history of Warwickshire. In 1635 he went to London, where he made the acquaintance of many more, including the celebrated Sir Henry Spelman, Sir Thomas Cotton, and Mr. Roger Dodsworth, with whom he afterwards collaborated.

In 1638 he was brought to the notice of the Earl Marshal, who appointed him Blanche Lyon and promoted him in 1639 to be Rouge Croix Pursuivant in Ordinary. For the next few years he lived at the Heralds' College in London, making his collections for the *Warwickshire* and the *Monasticon* until the breaking out of the troubles in 1642, when he was summoned as herald to attend King Charles I. at York.

Later in the year he was sent south with the Earl of Northampton into Warwickshire, where Lord Brooke and the Parliamentarians were holding the castles of Warwick and Banbury. He took with him warrants, still preserved at Merevale, from the King, commanding him



Sir William Dugdale.

to summon them to surrender, all of which somewhat risky errands were duly performed by him, as he says "in his Coat of Armes with Trumpets sounding before him." The castle of Banbury surrendered, but Lord Brooke defied him at Warwick, whereupon he and all his adherents there were proclaimed traitors at the castle gates. This defiance gave great encouragement to the "many Sectaries and Schismaticks from that populous town of Bermicham," who garrisoned the strong city of Coventry, and again defied our herald on his summoning them in their turn to surrender. The news of this brought the King from York, with a "power" under Sir John Byron to gauge the situation, and he stayed for some days at Stoneley House, the seat of Lord Leigh, near Coventry. Before leaving for Nottingham he threw a garrison into Kenilworth Castle, the strongest fort in all the Midland parts, midway between Warwick and Coventry.

Shortly after, the news came that the rebels at Coventry and Warwick were becoming more aggressive, and the garrison, no doubt insufficiently provisioned, were in danger of being besieged and cut off. It is probable also that the King was most unwilling that the fires should be started by any overt act of rebellion, which could not be overlooked. He therefore sent two troops of horse and one of dragoons to fetch off the garrison, with their arms and ammunition. Further, because he knew that Dugdale was well acquainted with the roads and by-ways in the county, he appointed him to go with Sir Richard Willys, who commanded the party, as their guide.

On the first evening they arrived at Mountsorrel in Leicestershire, some thirty miles from Nottingham, and started very early on the morrow, a bright Sunday morning in August, for the forty miles that still lay between them and Kenilworth. The direct road lay past the disaffected city of Coventry, to avoid which they made a detour which delayed their arrival until 10 o'clock that

evening. They and the garrison worked hard all night, and to such good purpose that they evacuated the castle at 7 o'clock next morning. To get a start of any pursuit they returned by the northward, through Berkswell and Coleshill, close to their guide's own home. News of the expedition, however, had reached Coventry, and numbers of horse and foot pursued them, hampered as they were by the ammunition. At length they were forced to make a stand at Curdworth Field, two miles north of Coleshill. Here, to use Dugdale's own words:

"They chardged these Rebells (tho' five to one in number) so stoutly that they put them to the rout and tooke some of them prisoners, whom they brought that night to Tamworth, and the next morning to Tutbury Castle—the sayd Mr. Dugdale hasting immediately to Nottingham to acquaint the King therewith."

This was the first blood shed in the great Civil War.

From Nottingham Dugdale accompanied the King to Shrewsbury, where the army was completed, and thence to the Battle of Edgehill (October 23rd, 1642), where the Parliament attempted to bar the King's passage to Oxford and London. The battle was drawn somewhat in the King's favour.

In the ensuing spring our herald was commissioned to make an official account of the battle, in order to put a stop to the rumours of the enormous slaughter.

Dugdale for the next four years was settled at Oxford in attendance on the King, who, as the Blyth estate was "sequestered" by the Parliamentarians, gave him a warrant for 13s. 4d. a day. "Of this," writes the beneficiary in his docket on the warrant, "I never received anything."

He lived, it appears, by conducting, in his capacity of Chester Herald, the funerals of the high-born Cavaliers who were killed in the wars.

At Oxford he found unlimited opportunities of gathering materials for the *Warwickshire* and the *Baronage of England*, both in the Bodleian and in the many public

and private libraries of the University. He was made a member of the University, and appears, like many of the Cavaliers, to have lodged in one of the colleges in place of the undergraduates evicted by the troubled times. His diary at this period is exceedingly full of allusions to the stirring events of the day, and gives a vivid picture of the varying fortunes of the royal cause.

It is difficult to give an idea of the whole, as the items are set down each day, but a few examples may suffice, taken almost at random.

"1644. May 29. The Rebells marched from Abington by Cowley towards Shottover wth a great pte of Their army. Several p'tyes of Horse came to ye foote of Hedington Hill, wthin cannon shott of ye works. 4 shotts made at them. They took a cart laden wth household stuffe wthin muskett shott of ye works."

"June 7. The Rebells wth 400 foote and 300 horse faced Compton (Wynyates) House . com . Warr. drove ye parke and kild all ye deare, defaced ye monumts in ye church etc."

"Dec. 7. Sir Arthur Aston (governour of Oxford) his legg cutt of."

"1646. May 11. Sr John Munson went to Woodstock by the Secretary's p'mission. Sr Tho. Fairfax sent a Trumpett wth a Sumons into Oxford. This day they began to make ye lines from the worke on Hedington Hill towards Oxford. This afternoon Prince Rupert pickeering in ye feilds on the north of Oxford was shott in ye upper pt of ye arme, being ye first wound he ever yet received."

"1648. Aug. 24. My boate fetcht to Maxstoke Castle (by the Roundhead garrison there). The Moorelanders rose upon the Scotts and stript some of them. The Scots prisoners miserably used. They were for hunger some of them exposed to eate cabage leaves in Ridgly, carrot tops in Coleshill. They sow victuals wch was brought in for them from ye country."

After the surrender of Oxford in June, 1646, Dugdale repaired to London, and compounded for his estate. He appears to have remained much of his time in London, acting as secret agent for Lord Hatton, who was chamberlain to Queen Henrietta Maria, then a refugee in her native land. There is a note in the diary:

"June, 28, 1647. I came out of London to Hatfield where ye King was, and kist his hand, p'senting my duty to him, where I had speech wth him concerning my Lord Hatton: this being the first tyme I saw his Matie since he went privately out of Oxford sct April 27, 1646."

In the correspondence the King appears as "Mr. Harries," and "My L. H." as Mr. Richardson.

It was for these and other services that Dugdale received from the King a very handsome gold watch, now an heirloom of the family. This, with a ring and a locket miniature given him by Charles II., form the only concrete return that he—more fortunate, nevertheless, than many another cavalier—received for much fortune and many years spent in the royal cause.

He spent much of his time collaborating with Dodsworth, and collecting materials for a description of the monasteries of England, which was afterwards to see the light as the *Monasticon Anglicanum*. Dodsworth had made considerable copies of many documents afterwards destroyed in the wars, especially those in St. Mary's Tower at York, accidentally blown up during Fairfax's occupation.

In 1648 he took Lady Hatton to Paris to meet her husband, who was still in attendance on Queen Henrietta Maria. He stayed there some months, and amid his sight-seeing found time to obtain information as to the English alien priories, which were cells of the great foreign abbeys.

By his connection with Lord Hatton, he came under grave suspicion as a malignant, and he was tied within five miles of his house. In 1651 he was further "forct to acknowledge a Recognisance of 1,000^{li} not to dep^{te} above a myle" from Blyth Hall. Any wider excursions required special leave from the Protector, from whom a grudging permission in autograph is still extant. His enforced seclusion gave him ample time to complete his work, and accordingly in 1655 he published the first volume of the *Monasticon*, the first of the joint efforts of himself and Dodsworth, who had died in the preceding year.

No work of his gives a better idea of Dugdale's tireless industry than this portentous *tour de force*. The

two later volumes, published in 1661 and 1673, are—a small portion of the material excepted—wholly of his composition. It is written in that bastard Latin, which was then like French in more modern days, the medium of communication for diplomacy and learning. He gives the history of each abbey, as shown in its charters, the names of the successive abbots and their deeds or misdeeds, a description, and sometimes a plate, of the buildings, and ends often with the inventory of their granges and farms, and a list of the plate, relics and miscellaneous property taken over by the arch spoiler at the Reformation.

He gives us the details out of which we can construct a picture of the old monastic system. The work was compiled at the last possible moment, when the documents and traditions were fast perishing. Indeed, he tells us that large collections of material, which he had noted for examination, were burnt before he had time to collate them.

Several later writers have charged Dugdale with appropriating Dodsworth's collections without acknowledgment. The title of "grand plagiary," as one of them calls him, is hardly accurate, for in the preface to the first volume of the *Monasticon* there is a most generous reference to Dodsworth and the part he played in the work. It is obvious that all antiquaries must necessarily profit by the labours of others, but few have, in fact, acknowledged that help so cordially as old Dugdale himself. He shared the proceeds of the *Monasticon*, not only of the first, but also of the later volumes, with Dodsworth's widow, who was in poor circumstances.

In the next year, 1656, he brought out the *History of Warwickshire*, likewise at his own expense. This work was the first attempt to make a systematised local history. There were local historians in plenty, but they contented themselves with collecting materials in a *dilettante* fashion, like Sir Simon Archer, or in copying

charters with tireless industry, like Dodsworth, without the faculty of co-ordination, which alone can make their collections useful to posterity. Dugdale's system was to divide the county into its hundreds, and proceeding along the rivers to take each parish in turn. He gives an account of the former possessors, often from Anglo-Saxon times, an account of the church or other ecclesiastical institutions, of old customs, wakes, "Mercates," and general local information. Except in a few cases, he did not trace the parish history to his own day, for he pleads:

". . . Mine own disabilitie to perform it, partly by reason that some, who had the custodie of our publick Records, were over-curious in vouchsafing a view of such things, which concern the last Age, deeming it an hindrance to their profit that should be made publick in that kind; and partly in regard that some gentlemen, doubting that the sight of their evidences might expose their estates to be questioned, have been nice in yielding thereunto."

As a relief from his studies, and largely, we may suspect, to support himself and his family in those uncertain times, he gave great attention to his home farm. His diaries are full of notes as to the prices of the "cows and porketts" that he bought or sold. Amid his many anxieties, the farmer of the present day need not make note in his diary, as Dugdale did on March 18th, 1653—"We first began to watche our Corne every night."

At the Restoration he was created Norroy Herald. He made frequent visitations in his (the northern) province, setting right the heraldry of the realm, which must have become seriously out of gear under the late regime. His duty was to pull down and deface all achievements not authorised by the Heralds' College in London. This he appears to have done with such vigour that there is extant a letter from a lady fearing Dugdale's interference at the funeral of her husband. He also carried on vigorous war against Randle Holme, "ye Paynter," of Chester, who, though entirely unauthorised, had acquired

a considerable *clientèle* in the neighbouring counties. He rode round on horseback, being entertained at the houses of the country gentry. His clerk, Gregory King, afterwards a famous herald, accompanied him, beginning at the tender age of 14 years.

During this period he brought out several minor works: *The History of Embanking and Draining the Fens*, *Origines Juridiciales* (a history of legal forms), and the *History of St. Paul's Cathedral*.

The Baronage, which was published in 1675-76, was the first adequate attempt to give an account of the noble families in this country, and is ancestor of the modern *Peerages* that come out annually in red and gold. The work was of a most ambitious nature, and the amount of research necessary was enormous, extending over thirty years. He strikes a human note in the preface:

"With what difficulty, length of time and expence, the Materials for this Work have been got together, there are not many, I am sure, that can well Judge. And yet I must expect no less the censure of some, who would have it thought that they know much, if they do hit upon anything that I have not seen; and perhaps will tax me with negligence, or worse, for omitting it, though it be as unlikely that I should have cognizance thereof, as 'tis to know what money another man has in his Pocket."

It is, in the main, an account of the great old families, with a notice of each holder of the title and of the part he played in the history of the day. Most of the families, as he points out, were either extinct or represented by younger branches, and in the female line, even in his own day. He was very scrupulous in setting down accurate and unvarnished accounts, and was not above pruning the too umbrageous family trees given him for insertion by imaginative scions of noble lines, which excellent example some modern heralds would do well to follow.

In 1677, after the death of Sir Edward Walker, Garter King-at-Arms, there was some little strife as to whether the right of appointment lay with the King or

with the Earl Marshal. Much intriguing on behalf of various candidates took place, and the Earl Marshal's cause was upheld by the Duke of York. The King being a good easy man sent for the Earl Marshal, and asked him whom he wished to appoint. He replied, "Mr. Dugdale, the Norroy," and "His Ma^tie" immediately replied, "Nay then I am content."

On May 24th, 1677, Dugdale was created Garter King-at-Arms by the Earl Marshal at the College of Arms, and was knighted by the King on the day following in the old bedchamber at Whitehall, "much against his will by reason of his small estate."

With characteristic energy he set about his new duties. He re-built with £400 of his own money part of the College of Arms, and re-organised the procedure in the office. As a fruit, no doubt, of his genealogical experiences with parish registers, he promoted a bill for the registering of descents, in order that families should have their descent officially attested—the germ of our present registration of births, deaths, and marriages.

Throughout his long life he spent several months of the year in London, and mixed not a little in official and general society. He corresponded freely when at Blyth, and appears to have had some little reputation as a story-teller. With filial affection his son collected many of his merry tales, "as neare his wordes as can be remembred." They chiefly are concerned in the oddities of the Roundhead preachers, and generally call a spade a spade with engaging frankness. A characteristic one is the following:—

"Of a Scots' Presbyter's transgression.

"One Patrick Gilespie, a reverend Kirk Presbyter, falling unwarily into the fow sin of Adultrie, to the great scandall of his function, raised (by the noise of it) so generall a dissatisfaction among the brethren, that nothing less than a general convention could appease them, to keepe a solemne day for seeking the Lord (as their term was), to know of him, wherefore he suffered this holy brother to fall under the power of Satan.

And that a speedy solution might be given them, each of them by turne vigourously wrestled with God, till (as they pretended) he had solved their Question: viz., that this fall of their Preacher was not for any fault of his owne, but for the sins of his Parish laid upon him. Whereupon the convention gave judgment that the Parish should be fyned for public satisfaction, as was accordingly done."

He had a considerable circle of friends, among whom may be mentioned Bishop Jeremy Taylor, Sir Thomas Browne, author of *Religio Medici*, Lord Clarendon, the historian, Somner and Spelman, the antiquaries, Lord Keeper Bridgman, Bishop Burnet, Pepys, the diarist, and many others, whose letters are still preserved among his papers at Merevale. Evelyn notes in his diary that he met him dining at "my Lord Privy Seal's (Lord Clarendon), on May 21st, 1685. He told me he was 82 (really 80) yeares of age and had his sight and memory perfect."

In 1681, after a married life of 58 years, Lady Dugdale died. Little is known of her, but she was a good wife to him, and took uncomplainingly her share of his troubles under the Commonwealth. Her picture by Borseler, now at Merevale, shows her as a sensible kindly woman, not without a sense of humour.

She bore her husband six sons and twelve daughters, of whom twelve lived to grow up. His heir, Sir John Dugdale, followed his father's profession, and died as Norroy Herald, and but for the death of Charles II. would have succeeded as Garter.

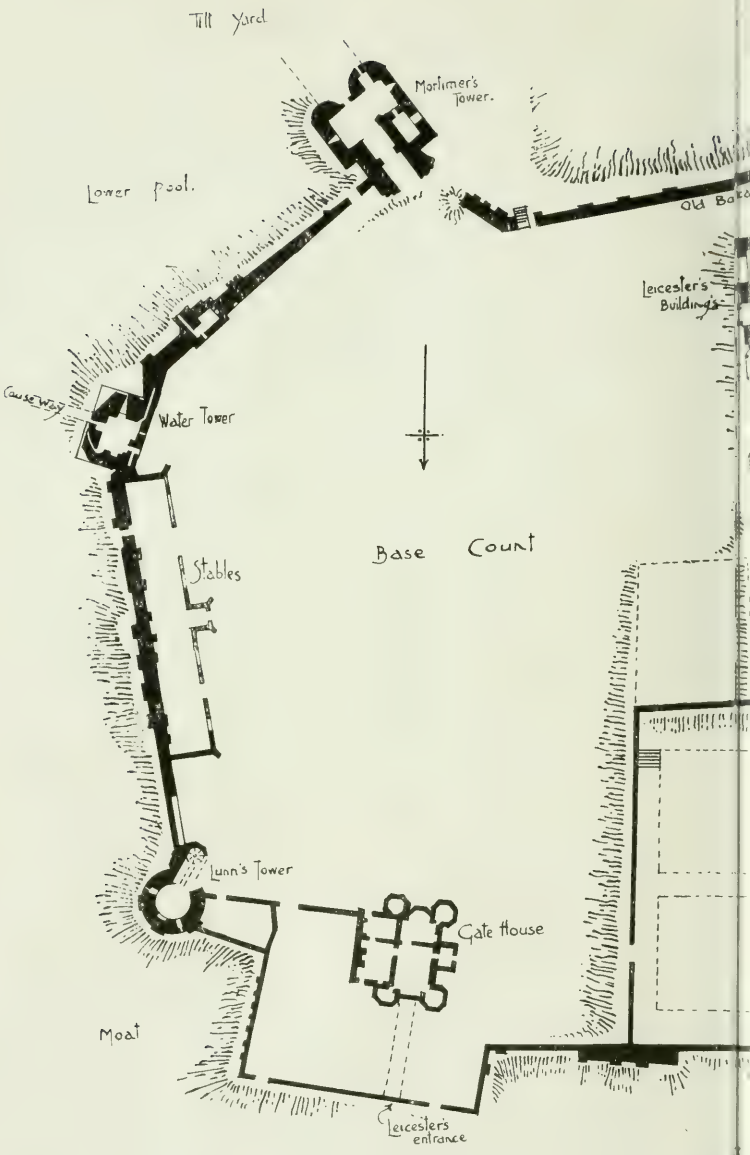
A daughter married Elias Ashmole, the antiquary and scholar, who founded the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

Sir William died February 10th, 1686, aged 80 years, in his chair at Blyth Hall. He had caught a fever from "attending too much his worldly concernes," according to Antony à Wood, which, however, resolves itself into nothing other than that he stayed out too late on a February evening directing operations on his farm.

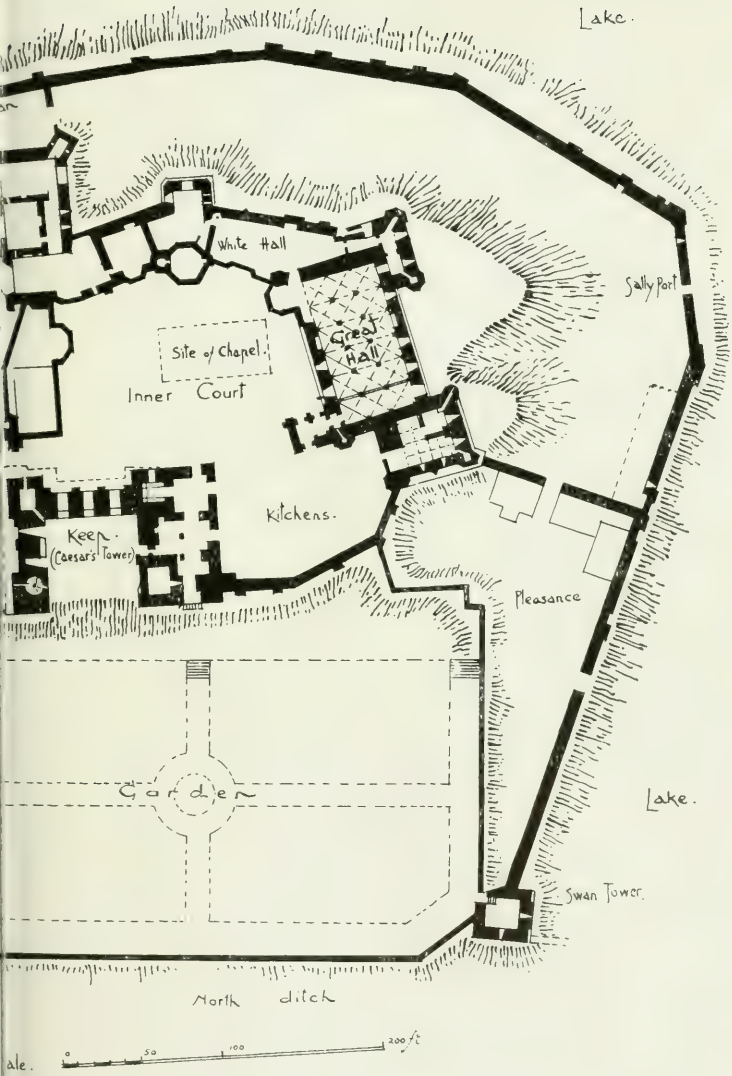
He was buried in Shustoke Church by the side of his wife, in the grave that he had built, and under the epitaph that he himself had written.

Just two hundred years later, in 1886, Shustoke Church was struck by lightning and destroyed; the only tomb preserved, out of many monuments of the family, was that of Sir William and his wife.

W. F. S. DUGDALE.


Tilt Yard
Mortimer's Tower.
Lower pool.
Old Ba
Leicester's Buildings
Causeway
Water Tower
Base Court
Stables
Lunn's Tower
Gate House
Moat
Leicesters entrance

PLAN OF KEN



ale.

ORTH CASTLE.

THE CASTLES OF WARWICKSHIRE

"The battled towers, the donjon keep,
The loop-hole grates where captives weep."—*Scott.*

THE County has, in common with many others, instances of fortifications and strongholds from those of quite early times down to the more modern specimens of the later mediæval period. They show how the art of Castle building, as that of war, improved by successive experience, the defensive to meet the offensive as the latter became more effective, and such development may be traced in the remains which are to be found in varying states of preservation in this shire.

Of the earliest order come those fortified positions where ingenuity, favoured by natural condition, sought to gain security from the advance of foes. Such are shewn by the earthworks at Seckington, or at Brinklow, though probably in these, as in other instances, there were further defences of heavy timbered stockades enclosing the outer courts or circles.

Later come more substantial erections of the Saxon period, in which, while the advantage attained by elevation of ground, natural or artificial, was still sought, the buildings themselves were more important, and were sometimes of stone, but frequently, at this date, of wooden structure.

At Tamworth are remains of work attributed to this period; at Kenilworth and probably Warwick, and other places also, such existed at an early date, though obliterated by later alteration.

The coming of the Normans, however, brought the most active and most notable period of military architecture. From the more or less primitive strongholds of earlier times came such opposition as was offered to their advance; but these when besieged and taken did not meet the more matured ideas of the conquerors. They therefore pulled them down, or altered and enlarged them, and in many castles still existent of this period may be found embodied work of much earlier date and ruder description.

As time passed the castles of the Normans became increasingly strong and numerous. The Domesday Survey refers to no less than forty-nine, of which thirty were built during the reign of the Conqueror.

Of how many of this number may be referred to Warwickshire there is no record, but the increase through the kingdom became so great that at length, under the later Norman Kings, they formed such menace to the Crown[1] and people that steps had to be taken to suppress them and raze them to the ground,[2] and permit to crenellate was enforced as a preliminary to any further development of fortified structures.

The Norman Castle had first its keep, with possibly a courtyard surrounding, guarded by a stockade; later, the latter was replaced by a stone-built circuit wall, with a gate-house; later still, with bastions to the wall, angle towers, a moat and drawbridge, and a general extension; its apartments increasing in number and size, and its structure in strength of solid masonry.

But the greatest development took place in a period dating from the Norman Conquest to about the middle of the fourteenth century, and then degrees of increasing luxury and domestic refinement reduced the former

1 Matthew Paris speaks of them as "Nests of devils and dens of thieves."

2 In Stephen's reign 375 were in existence. One historian, Ralph de Diceto, said 1,115, but this is an extravagant over-statement.

measures of severe strength, almost indispensable in a building designed for purposes of defence alone, and castles began to assume rather the nature of fortified mansions than structures for military service.

Of castles not now existent in Warwickshire—having been destroyed when such strongholds had become dangerously numerous in England, or by some later event—there is not much historic note, nor, in most instances, much physical evidence either; the following are known to have existed, and of some there are traces still:

Anesley (near Arley).—Norman, 1125; attributed to Hugh Hadreshall; but little trace can now be noted. Licence to crenellate issued to John de Hastings, 29 Ed. I., is recorded.

Baginton (near Coventry).—Of Norman origin; traces only. Possibly built by Turchil de Warwick.

Beaudesert (near Henley-in-Arden).—Late eleventh or early twelfth century; built by Thurstane de Montford; site and part of earthworks only now traceable.

Bickenhill.—No remains.

Birmingham.—No remains.

Brandon.—Early Norman; attributed to Geoffrey de Clinton; some earthworks only.

Brinklow.—No remains, but tradition records there was once a castle here.

Caludon (about three miles north-east of Coventry).—Very small; attributed to John de Segrave about 1305, when a licence to crenellate was granted; the present fragments are of a later building, but there are traces of an earlier.

Castle Bromwich (near Birmingham).—Built *circa* 1172; no remains; possibly a mound, which exists about the probable site, may be attributed; built by Henry de Castel Bromwyz.

Coleshill.—The Clintons held a castle here in the reign of Henry I., but all evidence has disappeared.

Coventry or Cheylesmore.—Possibly only a fortified mansion.

Fillongley.—Some traces of a small castle, possibly founded previous to 1300. In 29 Edward I. a permit to crenellate was granted.

Fulbrooke (a few miles from Warwick).—A castle of *temp.* Henry VI. is known ; probably an earlier structure also.[1]

Hartshill.—1125; some remains of a small castle.

Rugby.—Norman, *circa* 1100.

Studley.—(Quite other than the present building, now called the castle, which is modern and on another site); of early Norman origin, and owned by William de Corbucion in the reign of William I.

But these are gone, and the mark of many of them on the page of history, as upon the field, is now very faint and uncertain.

Turning, however, to the more important castles extant in the county, the first thought which rises in the mind is of the great house of Neville and its greatest son —the King-maker—not that his castles were confined to this county only, far otherwise, but here at least remains in considerable perfection one of the finer specimens of military architecture (largely of the fourteenth century) which belonged to his house and family. With Richard of Warwick comes also other thoughts of the struggle of the people for constitutional recognition and of the wide and helpful influence wielded in that struggle by the effort of the lord of the castle of the county-town of this shire.

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1 Leland reports that the castle was " an eyesore to the earls that lay in Warwick Castle . . . a praty castle made of stone and bricke."

Astley Castle.

And then, not far distant, alike in thought and place, is Kenilworth; with which name remembrances chiefly of the years of Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and his entertainments there of his royal donor, Queen Elizabeth.

Warwick and Kenilworth, with Maxstoke, are to-day, as probably they ever have been, the most notable castles of the county, and the first two, at least, of great note also in the history of the whole kingdom; but as they have had so frequent, so detailed and so able expositions by other writers, it is only proposed to refer to them here to give sufficient completeness to this note on the castles of the county.

Warwick.—One of the beauties of this castle as it now stands is the picturesque and imposing position of its domestic apartments, which are placed on the edge of a rock,[1] almost abruptly rising on the banks of the river Avon. From various points of vantage the grouping of the buildings is very fine, but perhaps when viewed from below—out beyond Cæsar's Tower—the words of Sir Walter Scott have their fullest justification, when he spoke of it as "the fairest monument of ancient and chivalrous splendour."

Its earliest date may be referred back (according to Dugdale) to the days of an early British King named Gutheline; in such remote times it suffered sundry devastations and subsequent repair, and in such latter, Ethelfleda, daughter of King Alfred the Great, restored it with sundry other early strongholds after Danish ravages.[2] The artificial mound at the western end of the great court-yard is known as Ethelfleda's mound, on which the early fortress of her day, and the keep of a later, stood.

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1 "The magnificent and strong castle of Warwick . . . hard by the right ripe of Avon, is set upon an huge rock of stone and hath three goodley towers on the E. front of it. There is a fair tower on the N. side of it . . . which remaineth unfinished."—*Leland.*

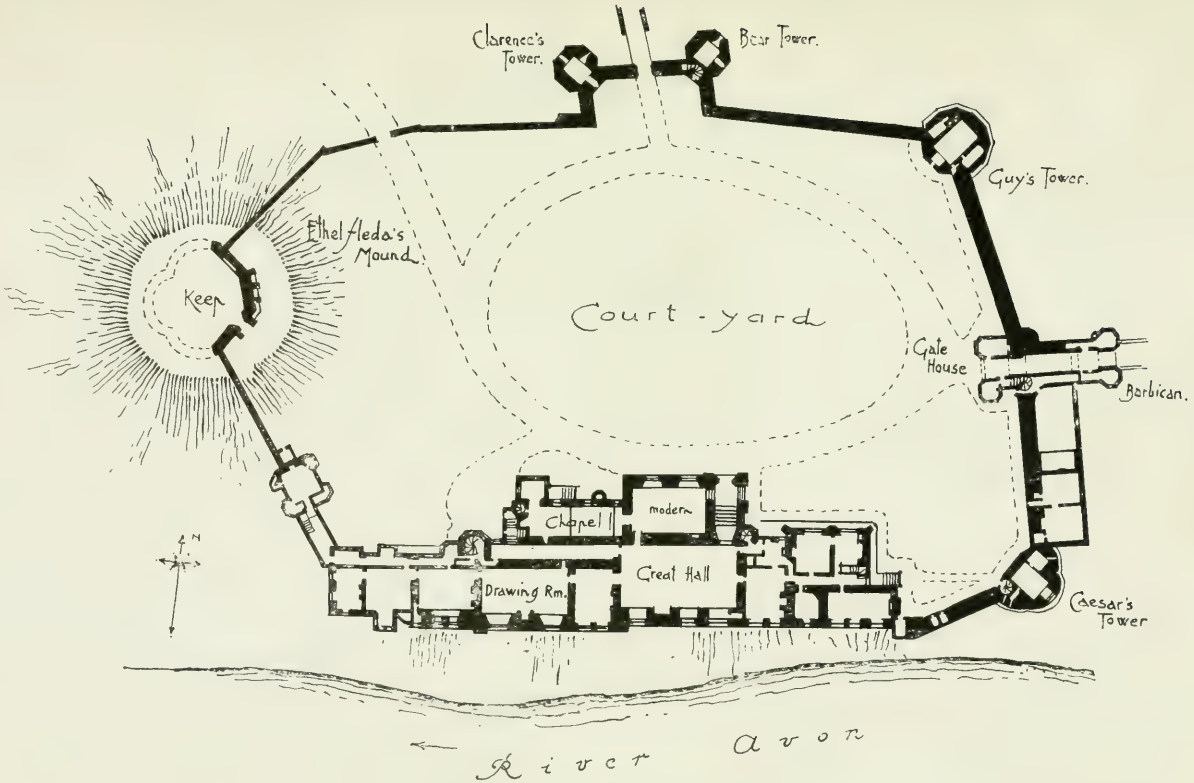
2 According to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* in A.D. 912.

Since then many changes have befallen the castle. In the early Norman period it was extended and strengthened; in 1264, in the reign of Henry III., it was besieged, taken and partly destroyed. Then William de Beauchamp (Earl of Elmley, Worcestershire) became possessed of it, and for two centuries or thereabouts it was owned by his family; immediately succeeding him came Guy, and after him, his son Thomas; then Richard, and subsequently his son Henry, the last of the Beauchamps.

Then, by his marriage, came the times there of the great "King-maker" until after his death at Barnet, a rebel to the King whom he had set up, when the Duke of Clarence[1] became its owner. Succeeding him his son, and then after a period of nearly half-a-century (in which the title was in suspense) it came into the hands of the Dudleys, and, after other holdings, finally to the present family by the grant of James I., when Sir Ffulke Greville acquired it, and on its repair (which it much needed) and further embellishments he expended some £20,000.

In the hands of most of these owners extensions and improvements were carried out, but to the Beauchamps the most extensive works must be attributed. Beginning in the latter part of the fourteenth century (*circa* 1360), Thomas laid the foundations of the most imposing of the towers, that at the easternmost angle, known as "Cæsar's Tower," which rises nearly 150ft. to its parapet, and the dungeon in its lowest storey. Of the other towers—after passing the Gate-House with its flanking towers and its barbican, etc., all in perfect state, and continuing along the circuit wall of the great court-yard—the next is "Guy's" (also the work of Thomas Beauchamp, and completed in 1394, costing, it is said, about £395 in the money of the time), which is of a twelve-sided plan, and rises 128 ft., having part of its

[1] He of the Malmesey wine-butt fame.



PLAN OF WARWICK CASTLE.

walls so much as 10 ft. thick; then comes the unfinished work of a pair of towers, right and left of the north gate—the first called the "Clarence's" and the second the "Bear Tower,"[1] the work of which latter was begun by Richard III., and of the former by the Duke of Clarence; the Northern Tower is beyond, just on the edge of Ethelfleda's Mound, and between this and the buildings on the river front is the Hill Tower. The court-yard thus encircled to the fine extent of nearly two acres.

The block of domestic apartments towards the river (the south front), is generally of the fourteenth century, with later additions in the days of James I. by Sir Ffulke Greville. It is a magnificent range of rooms, upwards of 330 ft. long—containing a hall (about 62 ft. by 37 ft.), with suites of withdrawing-rooms, armoury, chapel, and other appointments, their walls, alike with their present contents, murmuring with memories of men and of times when England's freedom was being wrought.

Kenilworth.—Unlike Warwick, the buildings here are in ruin, but they show, with some measure of completeness, the various parts of the castle, and give evidence of the magnificence to which military architecture had arrived at this date; indeed, the purely military has given way, here more than at Warwick, to the domestic and luxurious.

In Saxon times there is record of a castle here, but it was erased in some pre-Norman work, and the earliest foundation of the present ruins may be referred to the reign of Henry I. and to the labours of his chamberlain, Geoffrey de Clinton, *circa* 1125. Of this date (with later alterations, of course) is the keep—a massive, square tower-like stronghold called "Cæsar's Tower."

After de Clinton the castle appears to have been held and used by the Crown in the reigns of Henry II. and John, and under the latter it was extended and further

1 "A mighty fayre tower was begun and half finished, on the north side of the Castle, by Richard III., for to shoot out gunnes." Called the "Bear Tower" because the bears for baiting were kept there.—*Dugdale.*

fortified at considerable cost. In the reign of Henry III. more extension works were carried out, and it then was a very complete and perfect example of the larger castles of the kingdom.[1] About this time, towards the middle of the thirteenth century, it was acquired and held by the notable Simon de Montford. In June of 1266 it was besieged, and was surrendered in December of that year, in the struggle between de Montford and the Crown. It then was passed into the hands of the King's son on his creation as Earl of Leicester, and remained in his family till 1361, when John of Gaunt became its owner, and after his day it passed again to the Crown. John of Gaunt built, in Richard II.'s reign, the walls and their turrets, and the great hall and the tower adjoining. The Gate-House is of Elizabethan period, and a fine instance.

The next note, and of greatest interest, is the relationships of the favourite of Queen Elizabeth—Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester—the extensive works he carried out (about 1565)—the great gate-house and other buildings—alike with the visits and entertainments of his royal mistress at this then very magnificent castle are all recorded in the pages of history.

Some of the appointments of the castle are now hard to distinguish—its tilt-yard is overgrown, its great lake dried up[2] and its pleasances erased; its halls, and towers, and its luxurious apartments broken and damaged and never restored since the ravages of the Civil War, which so frequently invaded the country-side in this county.

Maxstoke.—Near to Coleshill lies the fourteenth century castle of Maxstoke. Here the name of the family de Clinton occurs again; the castle was doubtless built *circa* 1346, for then a licence to crenellate, granted

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1 Much of the extension being within the walls was of wooden structure and has disappeared.—*Parker.*

2 The lake is shown in sundry early prints.

Maxstoke Castle: Gate-house.

to Willielmus de Clynton, Comes Huntyngdon, is recorded, and there is evidence of such date in the general style of the work. In 1438 it was held by the Earl of Stafford, Humphrey, and it was he who built the gate-house, the ironwork on the oak gates of which still bear the nave, the antelope, and knot—the cognizance of his house. He speaks of "my castle of Makestoke" in a letter about 1450; then through the hands of his son and his son's son (whom Richard III. beheaded in 1483) it came to the Crown, and was ordered to be dismantled; but there is little evidence of the execution of this order, save possibly the timber-constructed military quarters were cleared away.

Henry VII. restored the castle to Edward of Stafford, and he held it till his attainder and execution in 1521, when it came again to the Crown. Henry VIII. gave it to Sir William Compton; from that family it passed by sale to the Lord Keeper under Elizabeth, and then by sale again to the Dilke family, whose descendants still hold it.

A magnificent avenue of elm trees leads up to the castle. The general plan is that of a parallelogram, with low, wide hexagonal towers at its angles. The moat which surrounds the castle is crossed by a later-date stone bridge, which serves now in lieu of the earlier drawbridge, and either side of the gate-way are towers of hexagonal plan, quite plain, and of much slenderer proportion than those at the angles of the walls. The gate-way arch is closed by old oak doors, and the passage-way covered in with a groined vault. The square court-yard within is enclosed with embattled walls; the domestic buildings located on the sides remote from the entrance. These apartments include the chapel, with a fine west window, the hall, the withdrawing-room, and the kitchen, which has a fine fireplace, but is itself so unskilfully placed, on the far side of the chapel, as to oblige the carriage across the latter of whatever is required in the hall.

Generally, the castle remains well preserved to the present day, and although it was damaged by fire in 1698 it was subsequently restored, and sundry of its apartments have good instances of wood-work, chimney-pieces, etc. The early buildings were evidently more extensive, and from indications which remain were probably of timber construction. The structure on the whole is possibly more that of the fortified house than of a military building, and is well preserved to the present day.

Tamworth.—This castle must be dealt with here by but a word, and for its fuller note reference may be made to another page.[1] It has a place of great importance in the military annals of the county from earliest days, far back, it is said, to those long before the Norman occupation of the kingdom, but certainly to Saxon times, to which period still extant masonry and probably the artificial mound on which the castle stands, may be attributed—and to the work of Ethelfleda—and also probably extensive dykes[2] for further defensive purposes, which are now filled up and obliterated.

The buildings are placed, no doubt, on the site of an earlier fort on the summit of the mound, but they are now more extensive, and of comparatively late date; the lower portions of the tower being the earliest work, excepting only the "herring-bone" masonry of the curtain walls.

Astley.—The only castle in the county of the thirteenth century foundation, though now but ruined fragments of the original work remain.

In the days of Edward I. (*circa* 1275-1300) it was built, probably by one of the de Astleys, whose family

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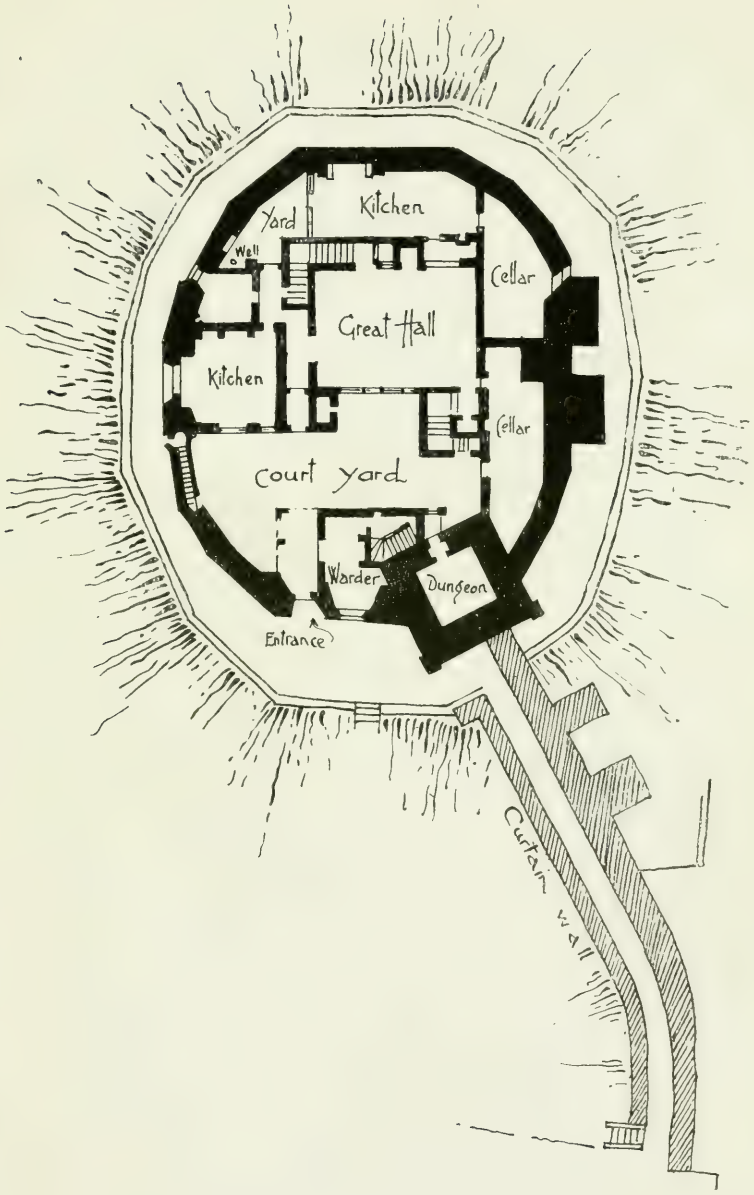
1 "Early Works of Architecture." (See page 40.)

2 The writer, in carrying out some recent building operations, near a spot referred to locally as the site of the "King's Dyke," found the excavations running deep into black recent earth filling a deep excavation; this was at some distance from the castle.



Plan of Tamworth Castle.

continued the holding throughout the times of the three successive Edwards down to about 1325-30.

Then, by marriage, it passed into the hands of the Greys of Dorset, of which family the Duke of Suffolk (father of the ill-fated Lady Jane Grey) was betrayed in 1554 while hiding in his own park here by the keeper, and was beheaded in London in the year following for his relationship to the rebellious cause of Sir Thomas Wyatt.

The present owners are the Newdegates, who can trace their connection back to the de Astleys of the earlier days.

The castle that existed in the times of the Duke of Suffolk was of much later date than the original; after his time it was allowed to fall into ruin, and the present structure is a subsequent rebuilding. The lines and fragments of some of the earlier work may still be noted, but the main part of that now existing dates *circa* 1550, and is of purely domestic character; generally, a rectangular block of two storeys, with mullioned windows, some of which have foliated heads to their lights; the walls are finished with heavy embattled parapets, and the whole only of moderate interest.

Of earlier work there are remains: the moat, with now a stone bridge indicating the position of the drawbridge and entrance, and some of the masonry of the gate-house and of the walls, etc., the latter heavily wrapped in ivy growth.

Other of the castles of the county have had the simple severity of their early defensive arrangements obliterated or destroyed by those in whose day comfort and luxury had become more possible, and such buildings may be classed, despite their claim to the name castle, as fortified houses only, under which head they are dealt with on another page of this volume.[1]

FRANCIS B. ANDREWS.

1 "Moated Houses." (See page 242.)

THE MOATED HOUSES OF WARWICKSHIRE

IN remote times, when life and property were less efficiently protected by the State than they are now, defence was an important consideration in selecting the site of a house. Warwickshire, being a land abounding in streams and springs, the local habit was to rely on surrounding the house with water. In drier parts of England it is possible to travel for miles without seeing an isolated house of any antiquity, security being sought in numbers; in such districts one finds the villages very compact, the streets being occupied by continuous rows of farmhouses, the farms of which are miles away. There are other districts where an important house had its tower, but in Warwickshire reliance was chiefly placed on the moat or moats, and to this day moated houses are extremely numerous in the county.

Excluding castles such as Maxstoke and Astley, and the beautiful mansion of Lord Northampton at Compton Wynyates, which are dealt with elsewhere in this volume, the most interesting and perfect examples are Baddesley Clinton and New Hall, both of which have deep moats filled with water entirely surrounding the building.

BADDESLEY CLINTON HALL lies about six miles to the north of Warwick, in a park of some extent. It now forms three sides of a quadrangle, the fourth having been removed at some unknown date. Its first aspect is a long and low elevation of grey stone, broken by an embattled gate-tower and an ivy-clothed brick bridge;

Baddesley Clinton: North and West Fronts.

but, seen nearer, its venerable walls rising sheer from the water, the quaint loop-holes for defence and narrow apertures giving light to dark vaults and passages below the surface, the varied outline of buttress and moulded chimney, and the rich heraldic glass of the windows, with peeps of the half-timber gables in the court-yard, make a scene as beautiful as it is historic and interesting.

Baddesley seems to have taken its name from a Saxon owner, Badd, whose ley or meadow was a clearing in this part of Arden Forest. At the Norman Conquest it had been the property of one Leuvinius, and was awarded to Geoffrey de Wirce, at whose death it reverted to the Crown, and after changing hands repeatedly in mediæval times became, about the middle of the fifteenth century, the property of the Brome family of Warwick.

John Brome, in the eighth year of Edward IV., met with a violent death in the porch of the White Friars' Church in London at the hands of John Herthill, steward to the Earl of Warwick. He had time to make his will before he died, and says in it that he forgave his son Thomas, who smiled when he saw him run through by Herthill. At the end of the fifteenth century Nicholas Brome was lord of Baddesley, and Dugdale says that he,

"resenting the death of his father very much about three years after way lay'd the beforementioned John Herthill in Longbrig fields in his passage towards Barford, and there after a sharp encounter slew him . . . Of this Nicholas I have further seen that coming into his parlour here at Baddesley he found the Parish Priest chocking his wife under the chin, whereat he was so enraged that he presently kill'd him."

In expiation thereof he "new built" the tower of Baddesley Clinton Church, and bought three bells for it, and raised the body of the church ten feet; also rebuilding the tower of the neighbouring church of Packwood. Nicholas Brome died in 1517, and his daughter Constance brought the manors of Baddesley and Kingswood to her husband, Sir Edward Ferrers,

grandson of Thomas Ferrers, of Tamworth Castle, who was the second son of the sixth Lord Ferrers of Groby. In this family the manor has descended for four centuries, and is now occupied by Mrs. Heneage Dering, widow of the late squire, Marmion Edward Ferrers, who was also the only representative of the ancient barony of de Ferrers of Chartley.

The most ancient part of the present house is on the south side, near the kitchen, where one or two doorways of fourteenth-century character remain; but the greater part of the building is of the fifteenth century, and was probably built by one of the Bromes. It is approached on the north by the brick bridge already mentioned, and a battlemented tower of three stages. This tower is of the fifteenth century, and has a flat segmental arch to receive the drawbridge when drawn up, and a lower pointed arch within with carved spandrils. Still further in, beyond loop-holed recesses, is another pointed arch, filled by a fine oak door, carved with the linen pattern, and studded with great nails on the outer side. There is a small wicket in the door, and the whole retains its ponderous fastenings. The tower has lost much of its defensive character by the insertion, in the seventeenth century, of a very large mullioned window over the archway.

On the west side of it the building is fifteenth century, with the exception of Elizabethan brick chimneys, the windows having for the most part pointed lights. The buttery and cellars were in this portion, and the great hall must have occupied the west side of the quadrangle, which is now open, and the kitchens were at the other end of it. These extend along the south side of the moat, and occupy a simple tile-roofed wing of grey stone, with half-timber work in the gable, which ends at the south-east angle in a square projection, which has some curious remains of an old sally-port or escaping hole for emergencies. An underground

Baddesley Clinton: West and South Fronts.
(Showing loopholes of underground passage.)

passage, which runs along this side of the house (and was continued along the west side, now destroyed), terminates at this corner in an unobtrusive-looking hole nearly level with the water. This hole has a portcullis of stone to close it, and near it is a short shaft which once communicated with the room above. In the event of the house being attacked (as it has been several times), and the defenders wished to communicate with the outer world, they could retire to this remote corner of the house, where a large panelled room opens by a narrow door in the panelling into a small chamber in the little tower that projects into the water. Within this door is another very thick one, closed by numerous bolts and a massive oaken bar. Passing through this the fugitive would be able to reconnoitre the position before venturing out, as there is a small window in each of the four walls, below which are oilets for shooting through. He could then haul up the stone portcullis and drop down the shaft into the secret passage, from which there must have been some plank arrangement for crossing the moat.

The east side of the hall has been enlarged in the eighteenth century with red brick, but the moat remains.

The house is entered at the north-east angle of the quadrangle through a small hall, which has some old portraits and furniture, including a massive oak table with six turned legs and a very thick top of black marble. The large hall opening out of it is panelled with dark oak, and has a large and elaborately sculptured fireplace of stone, with ancient fire-dogs. The range of windows on the opposite side have a number of shields giving the arm of the Ferrers family and their alliances, with contemporary inscriptions below them in black, on a yellow ground.

Under the windows is a very interesting and early table, twenty-one feet long, the top made of two enormous planks. It is remarkable as having four massive and elaborately moulded trestles, which are

joined by a central beam, and forms an interesting link between the primitive table of loose boards and trestles, and the "table dormant."

The dining-room, oak-panelled and having a noble chimney-piece of carved oak and much heraldic glass, opens from the north-east corner of the hall, and the drawing-room out of a recess on the opposite side. In the latter room is another beautifully designed oak mantel-piece, and there are other fine examples in the state bedroom and the haunted chamber, while the whole of the upper storey is full of interest. In addition to the bedrooms, which are very picturesque with panelling, tapestry, and old glass, there is a very fine room over the gateway, a richly decorated chapel, a charming library and studio, and a long panelled room over the drawing-room.

Outside the moat are the remains of another moat, with various fish-stews and a lake.

NEW HALL stands in a picturesque park about a mile to the south-east of Sutton Coldfield. Though recorded as far back as the fourteenth century, and though its history is exceptionally interesting and well preserved, I can find no remains earlier than 1590, which date (with the initials of Henry Sacheverell, who bought the estate in the reign of Elizabeth) is carved over one of the south windows of the hall. Dugdale's account of its early history is too long to quote, but Valens Sacheverell, son of Henry, left it to his daughter Anne, who married Charles Chadwick, in whose family it remained, with other large estates, till the end of the last century, when it was bought by its present owner, Walter Wilkinson. The house is built for the most part of the local sand-stone, and presents an imposing and picturesque mass of gables, battlements, roofs, and chimneys, completely surrounded by a wide moat of clear water, studded with water-lilies. On the north side the most ancient portion has two gables surmounted

by finials, the one on the right having a semi-hexagon loop-holed projection, on which a fine mullioned window is carried on numerous mouldings.

Between these gables is a small court-yard (with other fine battlemented windows overhanging it), which is approached by a stone bridge, roofed over with tiles, and having tall stone gate-pillars at each end. The court is now covered by a glass roof. From it a wide stone doorway, with the arms of Sacheverell, Chadwick, and numerous alliances, admits to a panelled hall lighted by fine Elizabethan mullioned windows filled with old glass. Near a carved oak fireplace is the door to the dining-room, which has been considerably modernised. Opposite the front door another old doorway leads to a formal garden with clipped yews, within the moat; and on the right are some smaller panelled rooms, and a most beautiful and singular staircase of carved oak. This has massive newel-posts, surmounted by heraldic beasts richly painted and gilt, and is divided into large panels of elaborately pierced strap-ornament. The landing is panelled, and on the right of it is the drawing-room, a noble apartment of fine proportions, with very rich carved panelling, divided by tall pilasters carved with scale-ornament. It has three large bay-windows divided by massive mullions, and a magnificent ceiling of moulded plaster-work with deep pendants and elaborate ornament. The windows are of exceptional interest, having their original glass in very small quarries leaded in a quaint diaper pattern, and enriched with old coats of arms of harmonious colour. Many of the tiny panes have neatly written inscriptions of considerable age scratched on them, most of them being Latin quotations, and several having initials and dates. Many of the other rooms and corridors have rich heraldic glass, with the arms of successive lords of New Hall and their wives' families, and also a good deal of old Dutch glass, with Scriptural subjects.

At the back of the house are several small towers of brick, with stone quoins, which, though built as late as 1796, are of considerable picturesqueness, especially when seen from the moat, and their reflections broken by the leaves and flowers of the water plants that grow in it. In 1871 Mr. John de Heley Mavesyn Chadwick spent large sums in altering the eighteenth century features on the east side of the house, and in re-building and extending that part in a style intended to be in harmony with the more ancient portion of the house.

The present owner and Mrs. Wilkinson, while preserving the old manor house with great care, have made the gardens and pleasaunce a perfect dream of beauty.

SOLIHULL HALL is a picturesque house half hidden in large trees, with considerable remains of the moat between it and the railway from Warwick to Birmingham. Its interest and antiquity are much greater than was suspected until, in 1891, Mr. J. A. Cossins made a very thorough survey of it, and succeeded in showing it to be a remarkably well preserved specimen of a fourteenth century half-timber manor house. The main portion consists of a hall 39 ft. 6 in. by 24 ft. 6 in., of one storey, with an open timber roof, and transversely across one end, two rooms on the ground floor and two others over them. Although the great hall is now divided into eight rooms, and much of the other part has become incrusted with later additions, Mr. Cossins was able to make a complete and most interesting drawing of the fourteenth century timber hall (see plate), together with plans of the whole house. The hall roof is an extremely fine one, with three massive framed and arched trusses of different designs. The first, in a line with the screen, is supported on huge posts, two standing in the side walls and two 5 ft. 6 in. within them, the spaces between being filled with plaster-work, leaving a central opening, with a well-proportioned pointed arch, 21 ft.

New Hall: North-East Angle of the Moat.

high. The next truss is carried on the wall posts only, and also forms a handsome pointed arch. The third and last truss rests on the wall-plate without posts, and the arch is segmental. The posts are double chamfered, and widen from the springing upwards, and the roof itself is strengthened with curved and chamfered wind-braces, which form pointed arches and greatly add to the picturesque effect.

The room over the kitchen, which was doubtless the solar, has a very massive and remarkable roof, with one main truss of singular design, and two others with elliptical arches.

In its detail and construction, as well as its main features, Solihull Hall closely resembles Baggaley Hall, Cheshire, and is probably the most perfect example of an early half-timber hall in Warwickshire.

BERRY HALL.—At Berry Hall, in the parish of Solihull, we get a fine instance of an ancient moated house of half-timber, for though one side is absent, the other three remain untouched, and the house is a beautiful piece of fifteenth century work. Some of the external timbers have richly carved ornament of Gothic character, and there is a mullioned and traceried window of massive oak, but one wing, which probably contained the great hall, has been destroyed. It belonged in the reign of Henry VII. to the Warings, one of whom, Lady Alice Waring, was prioress of HENWOOD, a small religious house about a mile away. An etching exists which shows an old house, formerly part of this priory, which must have been a perfect gem of half-timber work. It was partly destroyed about sixty years ago, and is now a moated farmhouse of moderate size, but considerable interest. Berry Hall has belonged for some generations to the Gillotts, who have built a modern house near it. The old hall has a porch which has been re-constructed, and two of its brackets have curiously carved initials, supposed to indicate the initials "T" and "A. W."

They have also the sacred monogram "I. H. C.," and "Amor est meus." It is possible that they came from Henwood Nunnery.

At Packwood, near the church, is an old timber and brick house, PACKWOOD HALL, which was doubtless the manor house, and still has considerable traces of antiquity. It is surrounded by a very perfect moat, which encloses a large space of garden, and does not touch the walls. A brick bridge connects it with the churchyard, on the north side of which is the Fetherston Chapel, which contains a number of tombs to that family. They lived for several centuries at Packwood House in this parish, where they owned a large estate, till the latter part of the last century.

PACKWOOD HOUSE stands about half a mile from the church in a park full of ancient trees. It is approached by lanes of delightful variety and beauty, and on the west by a long avenue, which leads to a picturesque lake, over the dam of which the drive reaches the house. This side has been rough-cast, and has eighteenth century windows, but is to a great extent of half-timber work. On the other side of the house the road is lined with huge elms and oaks, and has always been part of the demesne. Where it nears the house it suddenly widens into a great grassy court, shut in by low walls of ancient brick and by gate-posts, of which the gates have disappeared. On both sides are old stables, of Stuart brickwork, and masses of clipped yews.

Quaint hammered iron gates admit through fine piers of moulded brick to a square fore-court, to the south of which is a formal garden, surrounded by mellow brick walls, with two ancient summer-houses of brick, and a terrace reached by semi-circular flights of mossy brick steps. From this terrace, by more flights of steps and a lovely ironwork gate, the celebrated clipped yew garden is reached, said to be one of the finest examples

The Hall at Solihull Hall before it was divided up.

of topiary work in the kingdom. It was designed to symbolize the "Sermon on the Mount," and has a mount with a winding, maze-like ascent, the "Twelve Apostles" in yew, the "Multitude," and other quaint features.

In the reign of Henry IV., John Fetherston and Emotta his wife were members of the guild at Knowle, the register of which city from 1451 to 1535 is at the Birmingham Library. The estate remained in the same family till 1769, when Catherine Fetherston, dying unmarried, willed it to Thomas, second son of William Dilke, of Maxstoke Castle, on condition that he and his successors bore the name of Fetherston only. Towards the end of the nineteenth century it was bought by the late John Arton, whose executors sold it to Alfred James Ash, the present owner.

The oldest part of the present house is of mediæval half-timber work (a good deal of which still exists in the interior, and can be seen here and there under the rough cast externally), and may easily be that which John and Emotta Fetherston occupied in the fourteenth century. Considerable enlargements were made in the seventeenth century—in 1634, according to Mr. John Hannett, who in his *Forest of Arden* also quotes a letter (which in 1863 was among the family archives) from another John Fetherston in the time of the rebellion against Charles I., complaining of having to provide a quantity of weapons and armour to the belligerents. He does not know which side to take, so says that he has sent his armour to a neighbour's house.

A large wing on the east side of Packwood House is of this period, and is of Stuart brickwork, with moulded pediments and knobs of stone enriched, as are the stables, with several large sundials framed in moulded bricks. One has the motto, "Orimur morimur," and another on a west wall, "Sine septem horis." On the lawn towards the lake is a very fine pillar sundial, which has perforated gnomons on two sides, with the

arms of Fetherston, and is dated 1667. Over a door to the garden is a group of shields, of which the centre has the Fetherston arms, *Gu.* on a chevron *Sa.*, between three ostrich feathers *Arg.*, as many annulets *Or.* The chief entrance is by a two-storied porch, which has a massive oak door studded with nails externally, and carved on the inner side. It opens into a large oak-panelled hall of two storeys, nearly square, and having a modern staircase and gallery. Out of this a smaller opens, the walls of which are covered with late seventeenth century oak panelling, and in one corner an old fireplace with original Dutch tiles. From this on the left is a large room with early panelling, and an old fireplace, of stone below and richly carved oak above. One of the bedrooms also (in which Fairfax, the Cromwellian general, is said to have slept) has elaborate panelling, divided by carved pilasters, and a fine carved oak fireplace, with a quaint cupboard in the upper part. There is much old furniture in the house, some being of great interest.

The site of Packwood House was certainly chosen for the facilities it afforded for a moat and fish-ponds. The remains of the moat extend from the lake parallel to one side of the house, and are now dry. Near it are the ruins of an old fountain, having a good deal of sculptured stonework and a shield carved with the arms of Fetherston. There seems to have been a kind of bath or well in combination with it.

BILLESLEY MANOR is a fine old mansion of stone, standing high in very romantic and wooded country about halfway between Stratford-on-Avon and Alcester. It is some distance from the main road, and long before reaching the entrance to the drive one sees the grey gables of the house between fine trees. A little below it, the ancient but diminutive church groups with some venerable out-buildings, and near the former a pair of old gate-pillars and a grassy and spacious fore-court between two grand old barns make a quaint and

PACKWOOD HOUSE, FROM THE SOUTH-EAST.

distinguished approach to the house. The main entrance is reached through another pair of gates, which lead to a new wing which has been built on old foundations by the Hon. C. Hanbury Tracy, the present owner of the estate.

In this wing is a very interesting trestle-table of oak, a fine carved table-settle or "Monks' Bench" of early date, the back of which turns up to make a table, and other old furniture. Passing the great staircase, and through a large pointed stone arch of several members, the old hall is reached. This opens to a formal garden by a seventeenth century doorway (with a small stone-mullioned window over it), and a sandstone porch, with slightly detached columns. From this hall a very large room opens, having fine oak panelling and an immense fourteenth century stone fireplace, with later oak carving over it. It is lighted by great mullioned windows, and beyond it similar ones give light to a panelled library and a boudoir. Almost all the furniture is old and interesting, including several fine Stuart armchairs of walnut.

On the other side of the old hall is the dining-room, which has fine oak panelling and two old stone fireplaces, recently discovered. Opposite them are two Elizabethan windows of twelve lights each, and at the end of the room another, equally large, has been unearthed. This room has a number of Cromwellian leather covered chairs, and a remarkable oak settle, also covered with leather. Two of the finest rooms are upstairs, the drawing-room and the oak bedroom, having each very handsome panelling and exceptionally fine and elaborately carved oak fireplaces of great beauty.

A considerable piece of the moat remains to the south of the hall, and is still filled with water.

NETHER WHITACRE HALL is an example of numerous cases where the ancient house has been modernised and the moat remains intact. It also affords an example

of an old gate-house, such as probably a great majority of the moats had when the water did not touch the house. It consists of a small gable-roofed building of no great strength, but sufficient to keep out stray marauders and thieves in the comparatively orderly times of Elizabeth and the Stuarts. It was repaired for the owner, Sir John Holder, Bart., about ten years ago by Mr. J. A. Cossins, whose knowledge of Warwickshire antiquities is unrivalled, and who says of it:

"It is, so far as I know, a unique survival of a feature that must have been a common adjunct to many of the Midland moated houses. All others seem to have been swept away, either because they had become dilapidated or were considered useless."

This diminutive gate-house seems to have been half-timber work of the sixteenth century or earlier, and in the seventeenth century to have been re-built to a great extent with brick. It has a fleur-de-lis in the timber of the gable, as have several ancient houses in this parish, and its general character can be seen by the accompanying illustration. Mr. Cossins found remains of large wooden pulleys, which had been used for raising the drawbridge.

BUSHWOOD, or LAPWORTH HALL, lies in a wooded and secluded situation in Lapworth parish, and has only traces of antiquity in the present farmhouse, which is surrounded by a very well-preserved moat. There is, however, a contract in existence (printed in Parker's *Domestic Architecture*), which was made in 1314, between Sir John Bishopsden and two masons for the building of a house of freestone on his manor of Lapworth. It is noteworthy that the doorway was to be so constructed that a drawbridge might be fitted to it.

Some doubt has been expressed as to whether the house referred to may not have stood in Lapworth Park, a quarter of a mile to the west of Bushwood Hall, where a large and deep moat still exists.

WHARLEY HALL, near Hampton-in-Arden, is a very fine piece of seventeenth century half-timber work, and

NETHER WHITACRE GATE-HOUSE.

has distinct remains of the moat. Near the west end of the church at HAMPTON-IN-ARDEN is a fine fragment of the manor house of mediæval half-timber, retaining a very fine old chimney of massive stonework. A deep moat partly surrounds it, but is now dry.

SHELDON HALL, about eight miles south of Birmingham, is now covered with rough-cast, but is a large house of Elizabethan character, with numerous stone gables and considerable remains of the moat, which is now dry and overgrown with large trees. It is part of the Coleshill estate of the Digbys, and has a fine old staircase and a richly carved fireplace, with double columns of oak.

WELCH HALL, near Meriden, is a very fine half-timber house, and some portions of a wet moat remain.

BLYTHE HALL, near Coleshill, is a gabled mansion of brick, re-built by Sir Wm. Dugdale, the antiquary, who died there in 1686. It stands close to the river Blythe, and has three sides of a large and well-preserved moat at the back of the house, besides extensive fish-stews.

THE RAVENSHAW, near Solihull, is a large half-timbered farmhouse near the banks of the Blythe. There is a large pool on the north of the house, which formed the defence on that side. On two of the remaining sides of the square are portions of a moat, which are fed from the pool, but the rest has been filled up.

KINGSBURY HALL is built of stone, and stands at the top of a steep bank overlooking the river Tame, so needed no moat on that side; on the other sides there is a strong mediæval wall, with a moat outside it. In the wall there is a pointed arch, but the house itself seems to be of Elizabethan character. It is now a farmhouse.

MIDDLETON HALL, which is some miles to the north of Sutton Coldfield, has the air of a late seventeenth

century house; but in recent times much earlier work, including roof timbers of fourteenth century work, have been discovered there. On one side of the house is a large lake, which formerly supplied the moat, which still remains, but grass-grown and dry.

PEDDIMORE HALL lies between Sutton Coldfield and Coleshill in a secluded spot, reached by a narrow lane. According to Dugdale, the house that stood here "possessed anciently a chapel," but he says "there is nothing remaining of an ancient manor place the Ardens had than a large double moat." The inner moat remains entire, is ten yards wide, and has a house with half an acre of garden within it; but the outer moat is now on three sides little more than a narrow ditch. It is, however, on the north, and about thirty yards of the west side, considerably wider than the inner one. The oldest part of the present house seems to be of the seventeenth century.

WOOTTON WAWEN HALL has no moat at the present day, but its situation near the little river Alne, and the number of ornamental ponds, canals, and stews near it, besides a lake of considerable size, render it certain that the earlier hall had one. The present house seems to have been built in the reign of Charles I., who created the owner (Sir Charles Smythe) Lord Carrington, baron of Wootton. It is a very handsome building of grey stone, and a very good example of the English renaissance. The late Mr. Capewell Hughes, who bought the Wootton estates a few years ago, spent large sums in restoring the house and pleasure grounds. At the back of the house is a fine columbarium of stone, with half-timber gables, and several stone arches of mediæval date, now incorporated in the walls of a formal garden, in which are some fine old lead vases and figures.

KINGSHURST HALL, between Castle Bromwich and Coleshill, is a large square red-brick building, with

hipped tiled roofs and a bracketted semi-circular porch, characteristic of the time of George I. It stands within a large moat nine yards in width, and on the south-west side are remains of an outer moat enclosing an ancient mound. According to Dugdale, who gives a long account of it, the place belonged to the Mountfords, one of whom obtained license in the fourteenth year of the reign of Richard II. to have divine service celebrated in his chapel there.

RAM HALL, near Berkswell, is an interesting seventeenth century moated house, having picturesque gables of stone with mullioned windows and chimneys of moulded brick.

Of other houses in Warwickshire which have undoubtedly been moated it is impossible to speak in detail, for their number is legion. Nor is it possible to describe the numerous moats and parts of moats of which the buildings have perished. In the parish of Solihull alone, twenty moats have been counted recently, including those of the Hall and of Longdon Hall, but "without taking into account cases where the existence of a mediæval moat is not absolutely certain." It has been supposed that the fact that these moats being bordered on at least one side by what was once common land, shows that each, whatever its exact date, marks a fresh enclosure from the forest. It seems probable that when a lord of a manor enclosed a piece of waste large enough to warrant the erection of a farmstead, a moat would be absolutely necessary to secure the tenant and his cattle from thieves or wild beasts.

OLIVER BAKER.

A NOTE UPON THE CHARTERS AND MUNIMENTS OF STRATFORD-UPON-AVON

IN England towns have long enjoyed special privileges, including a certain amount of self-government and corporate dignity; written records, therefore, have been more or less carefully preserved. But these records being considered the private property of corporations, and having reference chiefly to a restricted area of city or town, are usually more difficult of access than records of the nation at large, and are little known.

There cannot be a doubt, however, that these documents are deeply interesting as illustrating the perpetual struggle of the Commons to improve the general conditions of life among the people, and as throwing light on personal as well as municipal history.

In our shire of Warwick this is eminently the case as regards the records of Coventry and Warwick.

Thanks to the labours of local antiquaries in both these places, much has been done to rescue from oblivion a mass of curious and valuable information. The late Mr. W. G. Fretton, F.S.A., at Coventry, and Mr. T. Kemp at Warwick, have in this direction rendered good service to students of local history. Nevertheless, up to the present time little has been done to make known the contents of the muniment chests of less important places, and this is especially so at Stratford-upon-Avon,

Ram Hall, from the Moat.

where the Corporation have carefully preserved a valuable collection of documents, and have appointed a special record committee to take care of them.

It has long been my desire to see these documents in print, and easily accessible in the printed form to students who may wish to study their contents. This paper must, of necessity, be only a small contribution to a big subject, but I may, first, briefly allude to some of the documents in the collection.

In 1863 Mr. J. O. Halliwell, afterwards Halliwell-Phillips, published a calendar of the ancient manuscripts of the town, but this book is very scarce, and of use to specialists only. Mr. Richard Savage has published an epitome of the guild accounts, which is not so well known as it deserves to be; and recently the Rev. J. Harvey Bloom has published a transcript of the guild register.

I.—Considering that the records of Stratford-upon-Avon extend in an uninterrupted series from the thirteenth century to the present day, their value is at once apparent. They consist of documents chiefly relating to the guilds and to the Corporation, and may be roughly classed as follows:

1.—Three documents relating to the ancient and small guilds of St. John the Baptist with St. John the Evangelist. There are now no records extant of the other ancient guild of the Blessed Mary, but there are some slight references to it.

2.—Documents relating to the guild of the Holy Cross.

The mandate allowing its foundation, granted by Godfrey Giffard, Bishop of Worcester, January 10th, 1269, is preserved at Worcester, and Robert de Stratford figures as prime mover in this good work, and was the first master; a hospital was then founded and a chapel built. The rule of St. Austin was observed by the inmates, and a proper habit worn by them.

The accounts commence about the year 1353, and extend to 1504, but some are missing. The accounts after 1464 refer to the great guild of which we have next to speak.

The register of the guild is extant. It is a fine manuscript volume, commenced in 1406, containing the annual list of members down to 1534, besides copies of the constitutions in the time of Edward IV. and other interesting items. This register now—1907—published was extensively quoted by Fisher and Halliwell.

In addition to the unbound accounts already alluded to, there are six large volumes of charters, some of which, as already stated, refer to the older fraternities.

3.—The ancient charters of the town.

There are four principal charters:

(i.) The charter of King Edward VI., 28th June, 1553.

(ii.) The charter of King James I., 23rd July, 1610.

(iii.) The charter of King Charles II., 31st August, 1664.

(iv.) The charter of King Charles II., 27th August, 1674.

4.—Documents relating to town affairs.

These, as arranged by Halliwell in his calendar, are as follows:—

Sacrament certificates.

Court of Record manuscripts, in four volumes.

Documents relating to the trading companies:

The showmakers and sadlers, 20 Elizabeth, 1578.

The misterye or crafte of walkers and fullers, 24 Elizabeth, 1582.

The misterye or crafte of skynners and taylers, 1584-6.

The masons, joyners, carpenters, tilers, wheelewrights, plowghwrights, tugarers, fletchers, and cowpers, 1573.

The glovers, whittawers, and collermakers, 1637.
The weavers, 1572.
The mercers, drapers, and haberdashers, 1652.

The proceedings of Quarter Sessions.

Miscellaneous documents, bound in sixteen volumes, containing hundreds of papers throwing light on the history of the town and its people in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Receipts and vouchers, bound in six volumes, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The chamberlains' accounts, dating from 1558, and including the accounts kept by John Shakespeare, the poet's father. "These accounts are of the greatest interest and curiosity."—Halliwell.

Documents relating to the great stone bridge across the Avon. This bridge was built by Hugh Clopton in the reign of Henry VII., and still stands.

The "Bryge Book and Rent Roll," a small folio volume, dated 1597.

The register of the Court of Record, dating from 29th November, 1553. This court was established by the charter of Edward VI.

Miscellaneous records. A large collection, and, in addition, there are, of course, the records since 1750 to the present day. It is interesting to note that not only have the ancient records been preserved, but also a goodly oak muniment cupboard, with drawers, made in the days of Queen Elizabeth; the charges for its construction are extant, and it is one of the few pieces of furniture at Stratford made during the lifetime of Shakespeare. It has found a fitting place in the poet's birthplace, together with a ponderous muniment chest, a relic of the ancient guild.

II.—The great charter of Edward VI.

Since it is impossible within the limits of this brief paper to give all the charters in full, it seems best to

epitomise the first charter, and to refer to a few of the chief points of interest. It is first necessary to note that the Bishops of Worcester from early times were lords of Stratford, as appears from the Saxon charters quoted by Robert Bell Wheler in his *History of Stratford-upon-Avon*, and from the entry in Domesday Book, and the registers of the Bishops of Worcester and of the monastery there. The rectory was purchased by John de Stratford from the Bishop of Worcester in 1337, and formed into a college, properly endowed. At the Dissolution it was granted to the Duke of Northumberland, whose name is mentioned several times in the charter. The college was annexed to the Crown at the attainder of the Duke, and the land and buildings subsequently sold to John Combe, Shakespeare's neighbour, and these still continue in private hands. The church and tithes, however, were separately dealt with, the great tithes falling eventually to the Corporation, Shakespeare and John Combe obtaining by purchase the remainder of a lease of these. The chancel of the church formed the college chapel, and by the charter the new Corporation are obliged to pay a perpetual vicar £20 a year, and £2 for the tithes, to perform service in the church, and to an assistant to the vicar £10.

The Corporation, as successors to the guild, are also bound to provide a schoolmaster and to maintain the almshouses. The guild chapel still stands.

Houses for the vicar and schoolmaster are to be provided by the Corporation.

The great bridge is to be maintained.

The charter grants power to hold a weekly market on Thursdays, and two fairs annually, one on the 13th and 14th of September, the other on May 3rd and 4th.

By the second charter of 1610, the privileges of the former are confirmed. A high steward, recorder, four chamberlains, a common clerk (Thomas Greene, Shakespeare's kinsman, being the one named), and other officers.

By the third charter, 1664, the chief alterations are in the denomination of the Corporation, now to be called "The Mayor, Aldermen, and Chief Burgesses," the old title of bailiff being abolished.

By the fourth charter, of 1674, the chief alterations are that the high steward is to continue in office for life, and be a magistrate. The common clerk to be called the steward of the court of the borough. Power to elect four attorneys of the Court of Record and a Clerk of the Peace. The chamberlains to find security. The serjeants-at-mace to carry two maces before the Corporation, and an alteration in the days of holding the fairs.

By royal licence in 1819 the market day was changed from Thursday to Friday.

With the exception of more recent Acts of Parliament affecting municipal corporations generally, these are the chief changes made in the government of the town since the days of Edward VI.

CHARTER OF INCORPORATION

An Abstract of the Charter granted by King Edward VI. to the town of Stratford-upon-Avon. 28th June, 1553.

1.—The charter recites, that the Borough of Stratford-upon-Avon, in the county of Warwick, is an ancient borough, in which a certain guild was heretofore founded and endowed with divers lands, tenements, and possessions, out of the revenues whereof a Free Grammar School for the education of boys and youths was there maintained; a certain Alms House for twenty-four poor people were also maintained, and also a great Stone Bridge, called Stratford Bridge, over the water and River of the Avon was maintained and repaired.

2.—That the guild is now dissolved, and the lands, tenements, and possessions are now in the King's hands.

3.—And whereas the inhabitants of Stratford-upon-Avon, "from whereof the memory of man is not to the contrary," have enjoyed divers franchises, liberties, free customs, jurisdictions, privileges, exonerations, and acquittances, by reason of the Guild and of Charters by the King's progenitors to the Masters and Brethren of the guild, and to the inhabitants. The guild being now dissolved the inhabitants cannot hold and enjoy these privileges, and beseech the King to extend his favour to them, to make them into a body corporate and politic.

4.—*Incorporation.*—The King grants to the inhabitants of the Borough that it may be a free borough for ever incorporated, by the name of "The Bailiff and Burgesses of the Borough of Stratford-upon-Avon," with perpetual succession, and by that name capable in law to purchase, receive, and possess lands, tenements, liberties, franchises, and hereditaments to them and their successors in fee and perpetuity, etc.; and able to plead and be impleaded, answer and be answered unto, defend and be defended in courts, etc., in the same manner as other persons. And they shall have a common seal.

5.—*Jurisdiction.*—The Borough, circuit, precinct, and jurisdiction to extend as before, and the Bailiff and Burgesses and their successors may make perambulations when necessary without writ or warrant.

6.—Fourteen of the better and more honest and discreet inhabitants, who shall be called Aldermen, to choose other fourteen to be called capital Burgesses, and together to be called the Common Council, for all matters concerning this said Borough.

7.—The Aldermen and Capital Burgesses yearly, before the feast of Saint Michael, to elect one person of themselves who shall be Bailiff for one year, and he shall be admitted and sworn.

Provided the assent of "our most dear cousin and counsellor, John, Duke of Northumberland, now Lord of the said Borough, and of his heirs and assigns, Lords of the said Borough," shall be had.

8.—*Officers.*—Two Serjeants-at-Mace, for the execution of processes and mandates, Constables, and all other necessary officers.

9.—The Council to make good statutes for the better rule and government of the Bailiff, Aldermen, and Capital Burgesses and officers, and inhabitants, and for the better preservation and management of the lands, tenements, and possessions, and revenues.

10.—The first Bailiff to be Thomas Gilbert. The first Aldermen to be—Richard Lorde, Hugh Reynalds, William Smythe, Thomas Phillips, Thomas Wynfelde, John Jeffreys, Thomas Dyson, George Whateley, Henry Byddell, William Whatley, Robert Moors, Robert Pratt, Thomas Gilbert, Adrian Quenye.

11.—For the support of the Alms House, the Free Grammar School, and the great charges of the Borough, the King grants to Thomas Gilbert, late Bailiff, and to the Burgesses, all messuages, mills, houses, edifices, cottages, lands, tenements, barns, gardens, shops, cellars, solars, chambers, halls, waste grounds, easements, rents, reversions, services, and hereditaments whatsoever now or lately in the several tenures of . . . (persons named) situate in Church Streete, Chapell Streete, Shepe Streete, Bancrofte, High Strete, Ele Strete, Rother Strete, Grenhill, Wood Strete, Henley Strete, Wyndeford, Burge Strete, and Middle Rowe, in Stratford-upon-Avon, etc., which were parcel of the possessions of the late Guild.

Also the tithes of sheaves of corn, grain, and hay in Wylmcote.

Also a messuage in Shottery, a croft in Dodwell, a messuage in Burge-

towne, a croft of pasture land in Burgetowne. Also the late chapel called Le Guylde Chappell in Stratford-upon-Avon, and the Belfry to the same, all the land and bell in the chapel and Belfry, to the yearly value of £46 3s. 2½d.

12.—The Alms House to be continued by the Bailiff and Burgesses, with twenty-four poor persons, men and women, continually to be maintained.

13.—The Free Grammar School for boys and youths to be continued for ever. The schoolmaster's salary to be £20 a year. The appointment of the schoolmaster to be by the Lord of the Borough.

14.—Grant of one market every Thursday in every week, and two fairs yearly. On the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross and on the eve and morrow of the same day. The other fair on the Feast day of the invention of the Holy Cross and the morrow of the same day. Together with a court of Pye Powder during the fairs.

15.—Grant of a Court of Record every second week, for the recovery of small debts under £30. The Serjeants-at-Mace to execute duties of the court, and the Bailiff and Burgesses to have all fines, etc., levied in the court, and the return of all writs issued by the Sheriff.

16.—The Sheriff and officers not to execute anything in the Borough.

17.—The Bailiff and one Alderman elected for the purpose to be Justices of the Peace, and the Bailiff to be the escheator, coroner, and almoner, and clerk to the market.

18.—The Corporation to have the power to hold lands, etc., to the yearly value of two hundred marks. Provided that none of the liberties, privileges, etc., of the Lord of the Borough suffer.

19.—Grant of tithes of grain and hay in Old Stratford, Welcomb, and Burshopeston, now or late in the tenure of John Barker, and being part of the possessions of the late College of Stratford-upon-Avon.

20.—Grant of tithes of wool, lambs, and other small tithes of the whole parish of Stratford-upon-Avon and of the College, to the yearly value of £34. The Bailiff and Burgesses to hold these tithes in free and common socage and fealty only, and not in chief.

21.—The Bailiff and Burgesses to pay to a perpetual Vicar in the Parish Church £20 a year in half-yearly portions, and also 40s. a year to the King's Court of First Fruits.

Also to the Master or Pedagogue of the School, by these presents to be erected and incorporated and by the Duke and his heirs and assigns Lords of the said Duke, from time to time to be named, £20, at the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel and the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary by equal portions.

22.—The Bailiff and Burgesses to give to the Vicar and the Master or Pedagogue convenient habitations or dwelling-places within the town of Stratford-upon-Avon, for ever, by Charter under their common seal.

23.—The Bailiff and Burgesses yearly for ever shall find, give, and

pay to a Chaplain, being a priest in the said Parish Church, yearly for ever to serve and assist the said Vicar, £10 for his stipend.

24.—The King grants that in the Parish Church of Stratford-upon-Avon there shall and may be a perpetual Vicar, named by the Lord and presented by the Ordinary and Diocesan, who shall have residence there, and shall keep and maintain hospitality, and shall have the care of the souls of the parishioners.

25.—The Vicar and his successors shall be persons able and capable in the law to receive the annual pension with a clause of distress for the security of the payment, etc. And the King grants to the Vicar and his successors to have in and throughout the whole parish of Stratford-upon-Avon the peculiar jurisdictions, exemptions, probates of wills, courts of corrections, punishments, and other ecclesiastical and spiritual rights, which the warders of the late college, etc., used or enjoyed.

26.—By the love and affection the King bears to his youthful subjects, and laying it to heart not a little, that from their cradles they may be imbued with polite literature as before his days was customary, when they attained to a more advanced age going on to be more learned and increasing in number to be useful members in the English Church of Christ, the King founds and establishes a Free Grammar School in the town of Stratford-upon-Avon, to consist of one Master or Pedagogue. The school to be called "The Kynges Newe Schole of Stratford-upon-Avon." The master and his successors to be named and appointed by the Lord of the Borough, and to be able and capable in law to receive the yearly rent, pension, or emolument, etc.

27.—Grant to the Bailiff and Burgesses to give and grant to the Perpetual Vicar of the Parish Church and his successors the yearly rents, etc., of £20 and 40s. and a convenient house and mansion for the Vicar and his successors therein to dwell, and to the Master or Pedagogue of the School and his successors the yearly rent, pension, or annuity of £20, and a convenient house and mansion therein to dwell, with a clause of distress in all and singular the premises before granted by their several charters under their said common seal to be made and sealed, or otherwise in any way whatsoever, and to the Vicar and his successors, and to the Master and his sucessors, the King gives license to take and receive the yearly annuities, etc., notwithstanding the statutes of mortmain, etc.

28.—The Bailiff and Burgesses will grant immediately after the sealing of these letters patent to the Vicar to be named by the Duke of Northumberland and his heirs as before recited the annuities, etc., stated.

29.—Reserving to the Duke the nomination of the Vicar and of the Schoolmaster and their successors.

30.—The King reserves the tenths of the Vicarage and the first fruits.

31.—Grant to the Bailiff and Burgesses of these Letters Patent under the great seal of England without fee or reward.

W. SALT BRASSINGTON.

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